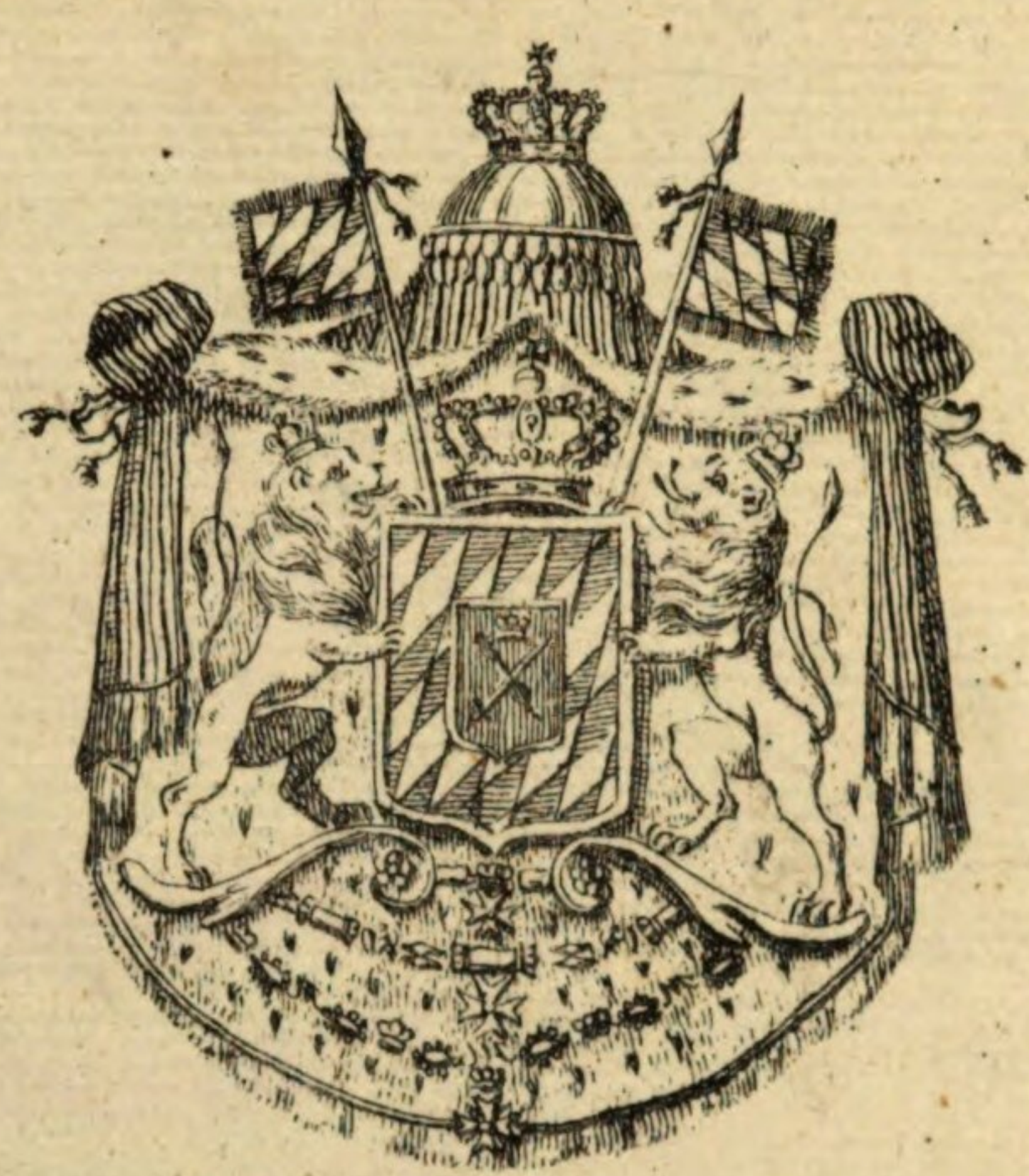


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Thomas Phillips, (the doctor) was a divine of
the Roman Church, & born at Shefford, Bucks,
in 1708. He was educated at St. Omers, &
entered the society of the Jesuits, but soon
left them. In 1756 he published in 8^{vo} a
letter to a student in divinity, "which is valuable."
His life of Pole appeared in 4^{to}. in 1764, & in
8^{vo} 2 vols. in 1767. His defence of the Roman
Church contained therein was ably answered
by the pretensions interest he obtained as
subendary in ~~St. Omers~~ Cathedral — He
died at Liege in 1774. His sister was
abbess of the Benedictine nuns at Ghent.

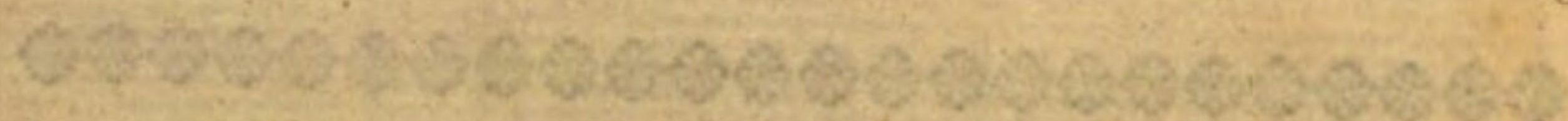
Dr. Timothy Neve. wrote against Phillips' Pole. Apr 1766
8^{vo}.

THE
HISTORY
Of the LIFE of
REGINALD POLE.



In TWO VOLUMES.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE LIFE OF
REGINALD POLE



IN TWO VOLUMES.

Sold by T. Payne at the
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CARDINAL POLE.

THE
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REGINALD POLE.

Charles Nicolson 1824.

V O L. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

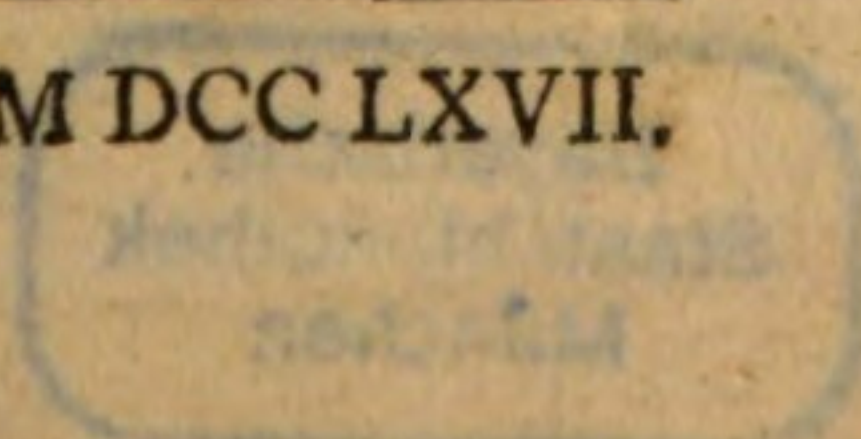
Omnino fortis animus et magnus duabus rebus maximè cernitur; quarum una in rerum externarum despicientiâ ponitur; cùm persuasum sit, nil Hominem, nisi quod honestum decorumque sit, aut admirari, aut optare, aut expetere oportere: nullique neque homini, neque perturbationi animi, nec fortunæ succumbere. Altera est res, ut, cùm ita sis affectus animo, res geras magnas illas quidem et maximè utiles, sed et vehementer arduas, plenasque laborum et periculorum.

CICERO de Officiis, Lib. I.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E.

TH E Performance which is here offered to the Public, is not a History of the Times in which the great Person lived, who is the subject of it, any further than he was immediately concerned in the Transactions of them. Had this been the Author's design, his Plan would belong to General History, not Biography. Besides, this subject has been treated by so many hands, and in so many different manners, that little new or entertaining could be expected from him on that head. Nor is the Reader to look for the characters and actions of great men, who were cotemporary with the CARDINAL, but as they serve to make known and elucidate his. The Author's design is to place CARDINAL POLE in a true, distinct, and conspicuous light; and shew his whole conduct to have been one uniform system of the most exalted, and, at the same time, the most amiable

Virtues which can adorn a Man of Letters, a Patron, a Christian, and a Prelate. This design could not have been executed, had he run into digressions on Times and Persons, with which He, who is the subject of the Work, had little more relation, than of being born in the former, and having lived with the latter. Such wanderings must often have made him lose sight of what both he and the Reader should always have in view ; and broken an attention which should be collected and fixed. His intention therefore is to put down only what his subject leads him to, not every thing he could draw to it.

THE Revival indeed of Letters, which were so great an Ornament to the CARDINAL's Character ; the Revolutions of Religion in his Country, under *Henry, Edward,* and *Mary*, in whose reigns he lived, and whose transactions were, in some measure, either the spring of his own conduct, or the effect of it ; the General Council of *Trent*, at which he presided ; make these great Events a part of His History, no less than of that of the Times. And a Writer must congratulate himself, that his Plan necessarily takes in a variety of Relations, which,
con-

considered in themselves, are highly deserving the accurate survey of a curious Observer; whilst, as Ornaments and occasional Prospects, they give his principal Figure all the advantage that can be derived from the vicinity of such Objects. If the Figure seems anywhere to be held off, it has only been to avoid satiety.

GREAT Characters indeed are apt to raise us to a strain, which sobriety of thought cannot always approve: but when we write on them, this effect is still more visible; and the strength of the impression we ourselves feel, easily persuades us we shall be able to draw our Readers within the same Vortex.— When the Author undertook this Work, he laboured under the opposite prepossession, and saw the difficulty of reconciling an *English* Reader to a History, which, on many accounts, must be a censure of things and persons, to which he has been used to give his approbation; and a justification of what he has been accustomed to condemn. — What encouraged him, was a consciousness that he had a greater respect for the Public, than Writers often have for themselves: and that he had sacrificed much of his own way of thinking for its sake, by suppressing not only

many things which might be liable to raise displeasure; but many, where his claim to approbation, or at least to indulgence, appeared very justifiable. However, should any prejudices, notwithstanding this caution to remove them, still remain, those who are biased by them, are desired to step two hundred years back into the manners, religion, and polity of the Persons they either approve or find fault with; and consider the circumstances out of which their respective characters rise, and which form themselves about them. To act otherwise, is like trying a Man by the *Forest* Laws, who had lived under those of the *Confessor*; or deciding of the beauty and proportion of the human body, from the shadow it happens to cast in such or such a position. And to satisfy a Reader, either unwilling or incapable of judging of men and actions by an impartial and universal standard, is not in the nature of this undertaking.

BUT the subject has difficulties of another kind to struggle with, as being for the most part relative to concerns in which this Age thinks itself little interested; and may perhaps not seem busy enough to furnish any thing above a Scene in Still Life. However,

ever, on a nearer survey it will be found, that there is sufficient Action to animate the Canvas, provided the Pencil be equal to it. For though CARDINAL POLE's Life may not always be supplied with that variety and elevation, which great Exploits, and the opportunity of exerting superior Abilities afford; yet this Denial, as it was owing to a true Greatness of Soul, which placed him above all unbecoming views, and the pursuit of glory at the expence of duty; and was moreover tried by every instance of adverse fortune, is so far from sinking, that it raises his Character; and makes Him, as *Plato* has observed, "a Spectacle the most
" worthy the Supreme Being of any beneath
" the Seats of Bliss."

IT may seem something extraordinary, that so eminent a Person, who was not only an Ornament to his Country, but an Honour to human Nature, should hitherto have received so little justice in the *English* language, and that the best accounts of him have been transmitted to us by Foreigners.—*Becatelli*, an *Italian*, who had been his Secretary, and was afterwards Archbishop of *Ragusa*, wrote his Life. It is a succinct
and

and elegant performance; and was translated into *Latin*, by *Dudithius*, another of the CARDINAL's Domesticks, and who likewise was afterwards Bishop of *Tina*; and into *French*, by *Maucroix*. The *Latin* translation is at least equal to the Original; and the Majesty of that Language seems more suited to the manly character of a native of *Britain*, than the soft elegance of the *Italian*. But as each of these Likenesses, however just and beautiful, is brought within the compass of a few sheets, it appears to a great disadvantage, without a base to raise it to a proper Attitude; or an area, where, besides the full prospect, it may be examined in several unexpected appearances, and side views, and become to the Observer's eye, what the Poet says of the Source of Light, *aliusque et idem*. To these accounts may be added, that of one of the best Judges of men and manners a Nation famous for sagacity ever produced, *Gratiani*, the learned and eloquent Bishop of *Amelia*, who was cotemporary with our Countryman; and has given his character, in a relation "of the various fortune of great Men *."—*Paul Manutius*, a *Venetian* Printer, at a time when the Public

* De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.

Public was as much indebted to that set of Men for their own productions, as for publishing those of others, drew likewise the outlines of his Character, in a most finished Epistle to Pope *Pius* IV. which is prefixed to one of his Works.—The most distinguished Writers of the age, and it was the *Medicean*, in which *Italy* saw true Genius revive, valued themselves on nothing more than his friendship; and, however divided in opinion on other matters, unanimously agree in acknowledging the superiority of his merit. From these chiefly *William Joyner* collected his short Memoirs; and being great Uncle to the Author, has made the subject descend to him by a kind of inheritance. Several particulars relating to the CARDINAL's public transactions, have been preserved amongst our own Records; to all of which access has been had, and on these authorities whatever is here related rests.

THE Author might have trifled very learnedly with the misrepresentations of Writers of some note, to which the course of this Work has led him; but he has contented himself with relating plain matter of fact, and producing his vouchers for what he advances;

*Parker,
Strype,
Burnet,
Fr. Paolo.*

vances; rather than take up his own and his Reader's time with, first, relating, and then, refuting what is contrary to it. He writes a History, not a Controversy; and the province of the former is to represent what *has*, not what is *said* to have been, but *never was*. The latter method of lengthening out History, is like that of a Guide, who being to inform a Traveller of his way, should enumerate the roads he was *to avoid*, and at last come to that he was *to take*: whereas the more satisfactory and expeditious information would be, to begin where he ended, and omit a Preamble, which took up the Inquirer's time, without advancing him on his journey.

BUT as the Epistolary intercourse of a great man, especially if it be considerable, and carry through a multiplicity of matter the same genuine marks of sincerity, is the truest copy of himself, it has been a privilege reserved to our times, and for which every *Englishman* owes his gratitude to the Editor's memory, to see a large and complete Collection of CARDINAL POLE's Letters *.

THESE

* These were published at *Brescia*, by the care of Cardinal *Quirini*, in 1754: the Collection likewise contains CARDINAL POLE's Apology to *Charles* the Fifth,

THESE not only discover his sentiments and feelings on the most important events of human life, but inform us of numberless facts and circumstances, in which the Writer, and those who stood in various relations with him, are concerned; and of which *no other documents* are extant. The same may be said of a considerable Treatise, addressed to *Charles V.* under the title of *Apology*, which takes in the most interesting transactions of *Henry the Eighth's* reign, and makes that Prince be known from Actions, of which the Writer might justly say,

— — *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui.*

THESE Fifth, and to the *English* Parliament; and a third to *Edward* the Sixth, in form of a letter; all which are frequently referred to in the following Work.

They were procured for the Author by Mr *Alban Butler*, to whom the Public is indebted for the most useful and valuable Work which has appeared in our language, *on the Lives of the Saints*; and which has been so much esteemed in *France*, that it is now translating into the language of a country celebrated for Biography, with large additions by the Author. This Gentleman's readiness to assist the Author in this undertaking, was answerable to his extensive knowledge, and general acquaintance with whatever has any relation to Erudition; and has therefore the best claim to this acknowledgment.

THESE Memoirs, the faithful Messengers of His heart, afford an opportunity, which hitherto had been wanting, of making the most intimate acquaintance with him, and knowing him from himself. And they shew his Character to have had a peculiar resemblance with that of the Country which gave him birth : piety and zeal in his Maker's cause, for which this Nation has been so justly celebrated ; simplicity of mind and manners, joined to elevation of genius, and consummate knowledge ; magnanimity and freedom of speech and sentiment ; humanity and disinterestedness ; modest worth, void of vanity and ostentation ; and all the milder merit of the heart, which are deservedly attributed to the *English*, distinguish Him. --- These national Characteristics were stamped on his Countenance, which was open and ingenuous ; and let themselves down even to his Table, which was such as became ancient *English* Hospitality, his own high station, and the number of noble and illustrious Guests, who every where resorted to him.

THE abovementioned qualities respectively shine in his public employments ; in his domestic

mestic life ; with his friends, and in his retirements : and are all heightened by the lustre of Royal extraction, and the most excellent endowments both natural and acquired.

His Life has moreover this special claim to the favour and attention of an *English* Reader, as the reign in which the latter and more public part of it was transacted, is one of the most interesting epochs of our Nation and History; and he, as a Statesman, the most conspicuous Personage of that epoch.

It has been already observed, that the Subject was new, not having been attempted by any one before in our language; and the accounts of *Becatelli*, and his Translator, as must appear to every one who has read them, contain only the heads of things; a few judicious and elegant Sketches of a larger draught; and leave the more important and greater part to be filled up. But, besides the recommendation of Novelty, this single subject is stored with as much variety, entertainment and instruction, as any that Biography furnishes. To say nothing of the main design: *Henry* the Eighth's divorce from his Queen; his breach with the See of *Rome*; the total change of Religion in his Successor's reign; the re-
turn

turn to the ancient worship under Queen *Mary*; the Revival of Letters; the Council of *Trent*, as has been remarked in the beginning of this Preface; are Incidents which offered themselves to the Writer, in the same important view in which he hopes the Reader will consider them. To these I must add the Instances of exemplary Virtue, and its Opposite, in high Life, and in both Sexes, with which this Date abounds, and furnishes those Lessons, of which an Author should never lose sight. The same may be said of the revolutions which the fortunes of particular Persons underwent, in times when the Civil state of the Nation had as little consistency as the Religious.

THE History of CARDINAL POLE'S Life proceeds from one of these Incidents to another, with such easy transitions, that they all contribute to the principal purpose of the Work, to make his Character more complete, and shew it to greater advantage. They are interwoven with his Story; and there would be a Chasm, if any of them were omitted. They have moreover this favourable circumstance, not only to rise out of the subject, but to beautify and enliven it with so many pleasing or instructive Scenes, which
relieve

relieve the Reader, at the same time that they allow the Author to look round him, and embellish the Spot he undertook to cultivate, by letting in an extensive and delightful Neighbourhood. The advantages of the Subject only are here dwelt on; how far justice has been done to it, the judicious Reader must determine.

THE Author looks on it as a very desirable circumstance, that at a time when the *British* Nation has the lead in the Affairs of *Europe*; and the most finished History that has yet appeared, of a People, to whom the spirit of liberty, and the valour of his Countrymen, give an affinity, which is but ill expressed by so distant a word as *resemblance*, has been published; he, likewise, should have offered to the perusal of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, the Life of REGINALD POLE. They will not be displeased, it may be presumed, to behold, in so eminent a Person, several of those qualities which distinguish many of them: nor think it a disparagement to be referred to an Original, recommended by every advantage which can give dignity to all that is great and good. Some among them have the honour of deriving an affinity to him by

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tory.

blood *; and every one is intitled to that more noble and desirable relation, an alliance to his Virtues.

WITH these dispositions they are requested to read the History of his Life; and could the Author flatter himself that the Performance was equal to the Undertaking, he makes no doubt but they would discover in it, not only every qualification of an all-accomplished *Churchman*, but also, in the most exalted sense, *the Character of a Nobleman of Great Britain*.

* His Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*; the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, and *Chesterfield*; the Lords *Arundel of Wardour*, and *Petre*, &c. and the respective Branches of these illustrious Families.

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A L P H A

EXPLANATION of the REFERENCES.

CARDINAL POLE's Letters, of which frequent use is made in the following Work, are published in Five Parts, large quarto; and are referred to in the following, or some such like manner, *R. Poli Epist.* pars — pag. —

When his Life is cited, it is from the *Venice* edition of 1563; in which the leaves are numbered, not the pages: but when the latter are referred to, the back side of the leaf is indicated.

When Lord *Herbert* is cited, it is always that Nobleman's Life of *Henry VIII.* small folio.

Sadolet's Letters are quoted from the *Lyons* edition, octavo, year 1560.

Bossuet's Hist. des Vari. des Egl. Protest. is cited from the *Paris* edition, 1734.

Bishop *Burnet*, is always quoted from his History of the Reformation, printed in 1715.

The other References either cause no ambiguity, or are so pointed out in their proper places, as to clear it up.

THE
HISTORY OF THE LIFE
OF
REGINALD POLE.

S E C T. I.

His Education at the Universities of Oxford and Padua. Writes the Life of his Friend Longolius; and Observations on all Cicero's Works. His Behaviour at his Return to England, in the Affair of Henry the Eighth's Divorce. Refuses the See of York.

THE period at which Providence was pleased the great personage, whose Life I have undertaken to write, should appear in the world, was distinguished by as many memorable events, not only in the country which gave him birth, but also in the neighbouring kingdoms, as any epoch since the establishment of Christianity. Nor was his high destiny more conspicuous in being adorned with every accomplishment suited to the dignity of the character he was to sustain, than in having every opportunity of exerting those accomplishments. The Empire, with the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and their wide dependencies, united in the House of *Austria*, gave a youthful and ambitious

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bitious Prince a weight in the affairs of *Europe*, which had not been felt since the time of *Charlemain*: and the wealth of a new world, whose conquest was now begun by his arms, added to these dominions, had made his designs as vast, as the means he had to compass them. *Francis I.* a great and gallant Prince, after a total defeat, was become his prisoner, and carried to *Madrid*: and *Rome*, given up to the plunder of his army, had seen the avarice and barbarity of the *Vandals* renewed; and the majesty of her Churches, and of the first Bishop of the Christian world, profaned and insulted by him who should have been their guardian and protector. *France* likewise was become a compact and formidable body by a late acquisition of States, which she considered as so many vital parts of her monarchy, rather than accessions to it: *Burgundy*, *Anjou*, and *Provence*, had been united to her in the reign of *Lewis XI.* and *Anne of Bretany* had brought that Duchy as a dower to *Charles VIII.* The Republic of *Venice* was arrived to her highest pitch of glory; and a martial spirit, not unworthy their ancient reputation, distinguished the other States of *Italy*.

By the acquisitions of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, a gate was opened to Christianity in the remotest parts of the east and west *Indies*; at the same time that *Luther* in *Germany*, and *Calvin* in *France*, began to oppose the ancient Faith, and set aside those Principles of belief and practice, the necessity of which was never more acknowledged, than since their influence has ceased to be felt. Resentment against the Pope, who refused to authorize the lawless lust of *Henry VIII.* had caused that Prince to disown all authority of the See of *Rome*, and make himself acknowledged Supreme Head of the Church of *England*; by which attempt he had separated the nation from the Catholic

tholic Church: and *England* saw, in the latter part of this Prince's reign, and in that of his two immediate Successors, three total changes of Religion, within the short space of one and twenty years.

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This period was not less fruitful in the Revolution of Literature, than in those of civil and religious concerns. The knowledge of the learned languages, and every branch of useful and ornamental Learning, together with the polite Arts, succeeded an iron age of ignorance and barbarism; and lighted up the sacred lamp of Science, which, for some centuries, had been almost totally extinct.

Nor were instances in excellence of a different and more divine order wanting to grace the age in which He was born, who was to do it so much honour in his own person: and the whole Christian World beheld in the general Council of *Trent*, at which He presided, one of the most learned and august Assemblies that ever met on so important an occasion; and, in the decisions of that Assembly, a most complete and accurate Rule of Faith and Discipline, which error and licentiousness had endeavoured to overthrow.

Moreover, that Rules laid down with so much wisdom and sanctity might obtain their end, several eminent persons, who then appeared, and were illustrious for the purity of their lives, and an heroic exercise of Virtue, enforced by example that Reformation of manners, which precept alone cannot effect. This was the general situation of the world with respect to letters, and to civil and religious affairs, at the time when the person, I am going to speak of, came to perform his part in it.

REGINALD POLE received his birth at a castle, which takes its name from the river *Stour*, two miles

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 I. was born in *March*, in the year 1500, which was the
 fifteenth of *Henry* the VIIth's reign, and the ninth
 of that Prince's age who succeeded him. His fa-
 ther, *Sir Richard Pole*, was son to *Sir Geoffry Pole*,
 Knight, descended of ancient gentry in *Wales*. A
 courtly behaviour, and great sweetness of disposi-
 tion, joined to equal valour, which he shewed in
Henry's wars with *Scotland*, recommended *Sir*
Richard to that Prince's favour. He gave him
 large command in the country, from which they
 both derived their origin; created him Knight of
 the Garter; and appointed him chief Gentleman
 of the Bedchamber, and Governor to his eldest son
Arthur, Prince of *Wales*. These marks of dis-
 tinction were still heightened by allying him to a
 person of the royal blood, *Margaret* Countess of
Salisbury, daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*,
 brother to *Edward* the IVth, and sister to the
 young Earl of *Warwick*, who was sacrificed to the
 cruel and wicked policy of *Henry VII.* and *Ferdi-*
nand of *Aragon*, father to *Queen Catharine*. This
 choice was intended by the wary monarch, not only
 as a reward of his services, on whom it fell; but
 to quiet his own fears, from a revival of the claim
 of the *Plantagenets*, by marrying the next in blood
 of that family to a person of an unambitious tem-
 per and approved fidelity. From this marriage
 sprang four sons and a daughter; *Henry*, the first-
 born, *Geoffry*, *Arthur*, *Reginald*, and *Ursula*; who
 being all under age when their father died, were
 left to the guardianship of the Countess their mo-
 ther †.

With
 * *Camden's Brit. Staffordshire*. The place now belongs to
 Mr *Hodgetts*, in right of his wife, as heiress of a branch of
 the *Foley* family.

† This account is taken from the *Heralds Office*, and is
 something different from what *Becatelli* and *Dudithius* relate,
 both

With these advantages of high birth and the personal merit of his parents, REGINALD appeared from his infancy endowed with those dispositions which reflect a greater lustre, even on such a descent, than they derive from it. His mother's care was to form him early to the hopes she had conceived of him; and he seconded her views so well, that having drawn on himself the attention of the times in which he lived, and been the object of their love and admiration, his character has stood the test of the two following ages, and is still fresh and unsullied.

At the age of seven years he was sent to the *Carthusians* of *Shene*, near *Richmond*, in *Surry*, where there was a Grammar-school; he staid there five years, and retained ever after a particular affection for the place. Having learned not only the rudiments of polite literature, but attained a proficiency in it much beyond his years, he was removed to *Oxford*, became Nobleman of *Magdalen College*, and had an apartment assigned him in the President's lodgings. *Thomas Linacre*, and *William Latimer*, amongst other eminent men, contributed to bring him acquainted with the best Models of Greek and Roman learning. The former was an excellent Physician, who projected the foundation of a College for that faculty, and was the first President of that honourable body: and both he and *Latimer* were the joint restorers of polite learning amongst

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both as to the number of the children, and the order of their birth. The words of the latter are these. "Ex hoc matrimonio sex liberi suscepti, mares quatuor, fœminæ duæ. Natus maximus, qui ditionis paternæ hæreditatem adiit, *Henrici*, alter *Arturi* nomen accepit; tertius is, de quo nunc loquimur, *Reginaldus*; quartus *Gosfredus* appellatus est. Hi omnes patri superstites, pueri adhuc in matris tutelam venerunt. Et filia quidem matris curâ & diligentia, honestè in primis, sanctèque educatæ, viris in *Anglia* summæ nobilitatis nuptui traditæ sunt.

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amongst us; or, to speak more properly, the first who laid the true foundations, and gave just notions of it. Their writings still bear witness to the elegance of their taste, and the extent of their knowledge.

Under masters thus qualified to form a youth, whose parts and deportment seemed already to promise the figure he afterwards made, no less in the learned, than in the great world, his progress repaid their industry, and surpassed their expectations.

27th June,
1515.

Panni pre-
tiosi, et
pelluræ
pretiosæ.

At fifteen he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and petitioned, according to the custom of the times, to wear a gown and robes suitable to his extraction and rank; and to be admitted to the public library. At seventeen he was nominated by the King, Prebendary of *Roscomb*, in the cathedral of *Salisbury*; and of *Yatminster-secunda* in the same church; and had soon after, by the same royal bounty, the Deanery of *Wimburne-Minster* in *Dorsetshire*, and that of *Exeter*, conferred on him. He continued five or six years at the University, and gained a general approbation, not only on account of an understanding capable of the highest attainments, but also for the purity of an irreproachable life, great modesty, and a remarkable mildness of temper. A civility which he here shewed to one, who was now growing up to be the ornament and delight of his country, is not to be omitted, was it but to make known the early sympathy, which at very disparate years united these two persons. *Thomas More*, who was afterwards Chancellor, having occasion for the advice of Physicians, REGINALD had not only sent him the opinion of the most eminent of that profession in the University, but wrote to the Countess of *Salisbury*, his mother, to make up the prescription: for which *More* returns his acknowledgments in a very polite letter, addressed in common to REGINALD, and

to

to *John Clement*, who was afterwards Preceptor to *More's* family, and has been highly extolled by his patron, in a letter to *Erasmus* *. In another place he mentions the singular pleasure he had received, from the commendations which a Latin letter of his favourite daughter, *Margaret*, had deserved from REGINALD; a Youth, says he, as learned as he is noble, and as virtuous as learned †. Having finished a course of Philosophy, he gave a public account of his proficiency in an Academical Exercise, which continued several days, to the great satisfaction of the audience, who were equally struck with a maturity of knowledge uncommon at so early a period of life, and with the graceful behaviour of the noble youth who was master of it ‡.

The elevation and elegance of his genius gave him a strong bias to those studies which excite and cultivate true greatness of soul; and he had already felt how much the ancient Greek and Roman Authors contribute to it, both by the precepts they lay down, and the examples they propose. Being therefore initiated in a relish of this pursuit, he was desirous to prosecute it where there was the fairest prospect of success; and *Italy* was then the mart of whatever was valuable in these acquisitions. Several very different causes had happily concurred to this memorable date of the restoration of Letters, and to make that country the seat of them.

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* *Epistola Mori ad Polum et Clementem.* *Epistola Mori ad Erasmus*, in *Mori Vita à Stapleton edita*, pag. 221.

† *Vita Mori*, pag. 61.

‡ Ad celebrem *Oxonensem* academiam missus, in dialecticæ et philosophiæ studiis brevi eos progressus fecit, ut pene puer adhuc magna cum laude atque omnium admiratione publicam ac solemnem quandam disputationem, sicuti mos est, per aliquot dies habuerit. *Thoma Linacro* et *Gulielmo Latimerio*, doctissimis hominibus, liberalium artium magistris ac doctoribus usus est. *Duditheus*.

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Ignorance of all ingenuous knowledge, which for some ages had spread her sable mantle over the rest of *Europe*, seemed to reverence those climes, to which polite learning owed her birth; and *Greece* still continued to nourish arts, of which she had been the parent. The Commentaries on *Homer*, by *Eustatbius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, who lived in the twelfth century, are alone a sufficient voucher of the state of literature in *Greece* at that time. But that Empire having become the conquest of the *Turks*, and *Constantinople* being taken by them in the year 1453, the Learned, who were yet numerous in those parts, could not brook the thought of living under a government, whose base was a brutal contempt of knowledge, and sottish superstition; and the house of *Medici* afforded them an honourable refuge in *Italy*.

The Republic of *Florence* had lately submitted to their sway; and *Cosmus* the Great, surnamed *the father of his people*, and *the deliverer of his country*, who delighted in learning, drew those to him who made profession of it, by every encouragement which generosity and discernment could confer. By their assistance he collected that famous Library which has been the Theme of so much Panegyric; and their own works are a still more valuable monument of their patron's merit, and their gratitude. The same noble inclination distinguished *Laurence*, his grandson, father to *Leo X.* and who with other encouragements of domestic example, had that of his mother *Lucretia*, a lady, whose beauty and rank were the least of her commendations. He was the declared Protector of the Greek Exiles; and employed *Lascar*, one of the most illustrious, and who descended from their Emperors, to purchase manuscripts in that language, and complete the collection his grandfather had begun. He entertained several about his person, with a liberality

lity worthy the surname of *the father of letters*; and having lived equally the delight of his own people and of the neighbouring states, he died regretted by all. Had this Prince's regard to considerations of a higher and more sacred nature been equal to the other parts of his character, *Europe* would have acknowledged in him, to whom she is chiefly indebted for her present state of learning, one of the greatest and most amiable men she can boast.

Leo X. one of his sons, being raised to the Popedom, made *Rome*, what his father's palace had been at *Florence*, an academy of learning; and would have held a considerable rank in this class himself, had he remained in a private condition: he had a happy genius, which had been cultivated by the ablest masters. The Ode, with which one of them has honoured an edition of *Horace* by *Landinus*, may vie with the most finished performances of the Roman *Lyric*: the turn, the harmony, the ornaments, the elegance, are worthy a *Medicean* Pontificate, or the reign of *Augustus*.

An emulation, which surprised even those who were engaged in it, was equally kept up in the Professors, and those who crowded to their lessons; and conversation in general turned on such subjects, in which few modern companies could have any share. These happy days began under *Sixtus IV.* but *Leo* saw them in all their brightness. The State of *Venice* became likewise one of the early and renowned seats of Letters; and *Padua*, at the time I am speaking of, was the chief School of those Arts, which make men valuable in themselves, and useful to their country. For it must be acknowledged, to the honour of Letters, that several of those who then excelled in them, joined to their knowledge of books great skill in affairs of the highest concernment to the Church and State; and

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and revived the example of the Ancients, whose management of public business, no less than their writings, was the finest instruction of prudence and practical wisdom; and who were able men as well as great scholars. Nature seemed now to make an uncommon effort in raising, almost at the same time, so many great personages for the restoration of Learning, and to have given them the lead in merit as much as in time, with respect to their followers. Those who are equal to such a discussion, have allowed them this precedence, which must appear equitable, when we take into the estimate the disadvantages they lay under, and the difficulties they were to struggle with, by the mere strength of their own genius and industry. All their resources were to be found in themselves; and, *Columbus* like, they were to explore a new world.

This ardour for improvement first employed itself on *Classic* learning; and whatever related to any of its branches, was attentively considered by these revivers of it. The Poets, Orators, and Historians of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, were studied with the utmost accuracy. *Plato* and *Aristotle* were no longer read in barbarous translations, but in their own tongue. That unprofitable application to raise and resolve questions, and exercise the reasoning faculty alone, which had for so long a time taken up the Schools, was in great measure laid aside; and their attention turned to inquiries of a more positive and real nature, to reading and criticism.

Physic, though so noble and useful a knowledge, had been before this epoch as low as the other Sciences: but the Greek Exiles, encouraged by the same generous patrons, the *Medici*, set the Faculty on understanding and explaining the excellent Masters who had written in that language, and examining

mining how far the *Arabians* had followed or departed from them; and these researches opened the way to further improvements.

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The *Art of Printing*, which had been discovered some time before, afforded an opportunity of publishing correct editions of the Ancients. The learned compared the Manuscripts, composed Vocabularies and Grammars, cleared up the difficulties of their favourite Authors, and elucidated every subject which could contribute to the knowledge of Antiquity; the Religion and Mythology, the Forms of Government, the military Force and Discipline. They descended even to a minute detail of the domestic life of the Ancients, to their dress, their meals and diversions; and have succeeded so well, as to abridge the way to knowledge, and make it not only easy, but delightful. By their labours, things removed at so great a distance from our times and manners, are become familiar to us, and we are as conversant with them as with the occurrences of common life. On these great Originals they likewise formed their own genius and expression; and transferred the excellence of *Greece* and *Rome* into their own compositions: and if some of them have been justly charged with the abuse and misapplication of their talents, and other more capital disorders, these can with no more equity be imputed to learning, than the wanderings and wrecks of wilful and obstinate Pilots, to the invention of the Compass or the art of Navigation.

From these necessary and useful rudiments of human literature, they rose to more important and elevated views, and took in the Greek and Latin Fathers, Church History, the Councils and ancient Canons, which were then little known. They went up to the origin of Tradition, and drew the doctrine of Christianity from its source; and the genuine

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genuine sense of the Scriptures, from an accurate knowledge of the learned languages. In this manner the rays of truth and discernment were enkindled, which then enlightened mankind, and still continue to shine on it.

And that the mind might, at the same period, awaken all her faculties, and display her whole store, the fine Arts joined the Sciences in their full majesty; and all Nature opened in the paintings of *Raphael*, *Michael-Angelo*, and *Titian*: whilst Sculpture and Architecture proposed those wondrous models of perfection, to which after-times approach in proportion only as they fall less short of them.

The effects which this revolution caused were too important in themselves, and too visible in his character, whose Life I write, not to require this detail. The times in which he lived, the employments he went through, were perpetually interested in them: He had intimate connections with the chief of those, from whom mankind derived this benefit; the encouragement he gave, and the example he set, gave him a right to be ranked amongst them; and his works bear the genuine stamp of the æra in which they were produced.

This influence was first felt, as has been said, in *Italy*; and the good sense of the *English* engaged them very soon to avail themselves of it. *Linacre* and *Latimer*; Doctor *Pace*, Secretary of State, and Ambassador to *Venice* and other States of *Italy*; *Lupset*, his Secretary; *Tunstal*, Bishop of *Durham*; and Doctor *Colet*, Dean of *St Paul's*; to say nothing of others, had been brought up in that School, and there laid the foundation of that reputation which their names still enjoy. The celebrated *Budé*, in a letter to *Linacre*, congratulates him on a happiness, of which his own education had

had been deprived *; and *Erasmus* seems to think this advantage alone to have been denied to Sir *Thomas More* †.

Were other arguments wanting, this alone is sufficient, to prove that the English did not derive Science through any intermediate channel, but went up to the fountain-head, and drew it from the source itself. And Mr *Voltaire*, who asserts, that we owe our learning to *France*, and that it is of so modern a date as the reign of *Lewis XIV.* has fallen into one of those many and notorious oversights, into which the vanity peculiar to his nation, and his own disingenuity, so often betray him ‡.

The home-bred incitements I have mentioned, besides his own inclination, determined REGINALD on his journey to *Italy*. His mother and family consented to a step, which seemed to second the hopes he had already raised, both in them and the whole nation: and the King, besides the church-benefices conferred on him, assigned him a pension suitable to the support of his rank. This income enabled him to appear at *Padua* with a dignity becoming so near a Kinsman of a great King. At his arrival, he was considered as the first personage of the University, and stiled, by way of excellence, *the Nobleman of England*: and his reputation increased in proportion as his character was known. His first care was to settle a household, composed chiefly of such as could be of use to him in his favourite studies of Eloquence and polite Letters. It was customary, at that time, for men of eminent birth and opulent fortunes, to maintain a certain number

* O te felicem, cui olim contigit *Italicam* illam doctrinam auribus etiam, nedum oculis, haurire! Id cum animadverto, infelicis fortis meæ reminiscor. *Bud. ad Linac.*

† Si hoc ingenium excoluisset *Italia*.

‡ See *Angeloni's* Letters, 47th Letter.

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number of such persons in their family. They enjoyed the elegant pleasure of their conversation, and afforded an honourable subsistence to those, who were the ornaments of their own age, and whose labours were to be the instruction of posterity. This ingenuous disposition, which the revival of learning had raised, prevailed chiefly in *Italy*; nor could it become any one more than a Youth of the Royal blood, who was a Candidate of those Arts. With this view he invited some eminent persons to his house; and, amongst others, *Lupset*, an Englishman, and *Longolius*, a native of *Flanders*. It would be needless to say any thing of the moral merit of these two extraordinary young men, since, without that, all other excellence would have been overlooked by a Patron, who, even at the age of twenty, made Virtue the standard of every other qualification. *Lupset*, though snatched from the world in his six and thirtieth year, has left behind him several treatises equally learned and polite*; and a still more valuable monument of himself, the character of Candor, Modesty, and Religion. But there is something so uncommon in that of *Longolius*, that I shall reserve what I have to say of him to a more proper place.

Padua was now, as *Erasmus* observes, the *Athens of Europe*, and had the same superiority over other places of education, as the former had in *Greece*. It was moreover at the height of its glory, and had been the school of most of the great men of those times. The University is said to have been founded by *Charlemain*, and was greatly augmented in the twelfth and following century. The freedom of the Government under which it now flourished, amongst other reasons, recommended it

* Besides several Works in English, he wrote, *pro Erasmo, contra Leium. In Corruptos Sæculi Mores. De Malis fugiendis. De Morte non pertimescendâ. Epistolæ variæ, &c.*

it to the Encouragers of those Sciences, which are properly called *Liberal*. *Livy*, who was a native, and *Virgil*, refer the origin of the city to *Antenor*, two hundred years before the foundation of *Rome*. It is situated near the *Brenta*, in a fertile plain, and in the neighbourhood of a rich and delightful country. Like other cities of *Italy*, it has been subject to frequent revolutions, and changed its form of government eight times since the *Romans* were masters of it. From them it passed to *Attila*; and from him to *Narses*: and then remained long under the Sovereigns of *Lombardy*. But their kingdom being destroyed by *Charlemain*, it flourished under the Kings of *Italy*. It then became a prey to the Tyrant *Onara*; and, his family being exterminated, it was changed into a Commonwealth in the tenth century; and continued so till the *Carrari* made themselves masters of it, in the thirteenth. Lastly, the *Venetians*, having put *Francis Carrari* and his two sons to death, added *Padua* and its large dependencies to their dominion, in the year 1406. Such has been the various destiny of that city, which was to be the seat of those Sciences, which have undergone almost as many revolutions. At present the University subsists chiefly on its ancient fame; and Students go to *Padua*, as Travellers visit Ruins, in consideration of what it formerly was.

But at the period I am speaking of, it was the first School in *Europe* of the learned Languages, and of every branch of polite Literature, of Philosophy and Physic, and of the Canon and Civil Law, which were then thought a necessary qualification to those who were designed for the employments of the State, and public Life. The higher and more sacred attainments were likewise taught with equal success; and some of the most finished pieces of Christian erudition were the fruits of education received

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Amongst these the noble Youth of our country distinguished himself by a ready apprehension, solid judgment, and unwearied perseverance. He had already laid a well-settled foundation; and being eager after knowledge, and having a mind capable of receiving, with ease and distinction, all the variety of it, his progress was soon the admiration of those who were witnesses to it. He was ever after sensible of the advantages he received from this institution; and in a letter to the Doge *Gritti*, who had ordered the *Venetian* Ambassador to compliment him, in his own and the State's name, on his promotion to the Purple, he expresses himself with great gratitude on this subject, and gives *Padua* the preference it then deservedly claimed, to all places destined to the same purposes †. The concourse of foreigners from the most opposite regions, afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with various nature, and those excellencies and defects, which in great measure are the effect of climate and constitution: and he began a friendship with several, who afterwards proved the greatest men in *Europe*. A further advantage accrued to him during his residence here, and for which he was indebted, not to the place, but to himself. An easy access, noble behaviour, and that favour which always attends high birth, when it is not rendered odious by pride, or disgraced by

* Witness the Works of *Contareni*, *Sadolet*, &c.

† In a letter from *Rome*, 1537.

fordid and vulgar dispositions, had recommended him to the love and esteem of the ablest Professors. SECT. I.

They considered him not merely as one of their Auditors, but as a person in whose advancement their honour and inclination were particularly concerned: they admitted him to an intimacy, and to all those privileges which are derived from an intercourse with able men; and several of them have consigned in their writings the esteem they had for him to posterity *. He received likewise, during his stay here, a particular mark of regard from his own country; Dr *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one of the greatest personages of those times, having lately founded the college of *Corpus Christi*, at *Oxford*, entered and made him Fellow of it.

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Leonicus was one of those whose Lectures he chiefly attended: he was the first, as Cardinal *Bembo* observes, who, in *Padua*, explained *Aristotle* in the *Greek* tongue, and did justice even to the majesty of *Plato*; and his profound knowledge, amiable character, and sanctity of manners, have been celebrated by *Erasmus* †. *Amaseus*, who was afterwards Secretary to *Julius III.* and employed on very important affairs in the Courts of *Germany*, was also Professor of the *Greek* and *Latin* languages; and his Writings attest his skill in each of them, as well as his elegance and perspicuity. *Flaminius* at the same time excelled not only in Poetry and Eloquence, but in Philosophy. His father, a native of *Imola*, had gained great reputation at *Bologna*, and his Works shew he de-

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served

* Quæ autem prima illi cura fuit, ut in præstantissimi cujusque ejus Academiæ viri amicitiam et consuetudinem veniret, præstanti ingenii indole et singulari morum suavitate facile est affecutus. Omnibus enim charissimus jucundissimusque erat, atque ejus domus ab optimo et eruditissimo quoque celebrabatur. *Dudithius*.

† Vir optimus, sanctissimus, atque doctissimus.

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served it. The President *de Thou* bestows the highest commendations on the son's piety and erudition; and informs us, "that having had a great share in REGINALD POLE's friendship, he was the first of the *Italians*, who, at his instance, attempted in *Latin* metre the divine strength and harmony of the Psalms *." An incident which afterwards happened to *Flaminius*, gave REGINALD an opportunity of exerting a benevolence, which does him as much honour as the most shining actions of his life; and was the highest and most useful instance of friendship he either did or could confer on him. *Bonamico*, another of these Worthies, was a labourer's son of *Bassano*, and must have inherited his father's obscurity, had not a superior genius gained the ascendant of his low condition, and manifested itself very early by an inclination to letters, and a rapid and surprising progress in them. The City of *Padua* having chosen him Professor of Eloquence, he preferred that station to all the emoluments, by which *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, and *Clement* VII. invited him to their Courts. What the President *de Thou* says of *Bonamico* is too honourable not to be related: "He taught (says he) in this celebrated University, with the admiration of all the world; and was equally honoured by *Italians* and strangers, for his profound knowledge of antiquity, his extensive erudition, his eloquence, and particularly for a clear and ready judgment †." *Erasmus* likewise, writing to *Goes*, places *Bonamico*'s merit on a level with that of *Bembo* and *Cælius* ‡.

These were a few of the many who kept up a noble emulation, both amongst themselves and their Auditors; and each Professor had that incitement to glory, which *Alexander* said was wanting to

* *Thuari* Hist. lib. viii.

† *Thuari* Hist. lib. xi.

‡ *Egregii Litterarum Heroes*.

to him at the *Olympic Games*, a Competitor like himself to contend with. The only felicity which now seemed to be denied to *Padua*, was to have her Chair of Civil Law filled by the great *Alciate*. He was a native of *Milan*, and the first, who, for many ages, had united the study of polite Learning and Antiquity with that of the Law. He taught at *Bourges* and *Avignon*, whither the generosity of *Francis I.* invited him; and at *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, and *Pavia*; at the latter of which places he died in 1550. This liberal and judicious method has lately been revived in our own Country and Language, with respect to the Common Law of *England*, by Mr *Blackstone*, the *Vinerian* Professor of that Law in the University of *Oxford*, and one of its Guardians in the *British* Senate.

In the midst of this emulation, our young Countryman formed himself to those great and different scenes he was to engage in, in the subsequent parts of life. At the same time he cultivated a correspondence with several eminent persons, to whom his rising merit began to be known, and who held it a singular honour to have a place in his acquaintance. *Bembo*, Secretary to *Leo X.* who was then at *Padua* for the recovery of his health, was of this number. Their intimacy appears from several letters which then passed between them, though those of *Bembo* only are now extant; and they shew the high reputation which REGINALD already had in *Italy*. He corresponded also with the famous *Sadolet*, as *Bembo* informs us, though none of their letters to each other, of this date, are extant; nor indeed any of REGINALD's during his stay at *Padua*. His fame was not confined to *Italy*; it was spread far beyond the *Alps*, and had reached *Erasmus*, who, in one of his letters to him, says, "that *Lupset* had described him in such a manner, that an acquaintance of several

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months could not have given him a greater insight into his character; and I rejoice, says he, that these deplorable times have found so able a support of Letters and Piety * ” He recommends to him likewise a young *Polish* Nobleman, *John à Lasco*, who was going to the University of *Padua*: “† You will love him, says he, because he has all those qualities which make you amiable; noble extraction, high posts of honour, and still greater expectations; a wonderful genius, uncommon erudition, and all this without any pride. I have hitherto been happy in his company, and now lose it with great regret. Amongst other inducements to take this journey with him, which would give me a second youth, the chief is to converse with *Pace*, my intimate friend; with *Lupset*, whom I have always loved as a son, and now consider as a patron; and with you, my *POLE*, whom I value above all others: but the situation of my affairs detains me here.” He informs him, in another letter, “that *Luther* had taken offence at a work of controverfy he had published, though treated with great moderation; and had written a large volume against him, in a stile (these are his words) which no one would use against the *Turk*. I have answered,

* *Lupsetus* suis litteris te totum, ornatissime *POLE*, sic depinxit, ut mihi notior esse non posses, si menses aliquot domesticam tecum egissem consuetudinem. . . . Gaudeo his deploratissimis temporibus exoriri qui bonarum litterarum ac pietatis causam et tueri possint et ornare. *Basilia*, 4 Oct. 1525.

† Non poterat optari comes itineris vel dux commodior, ejus quàm hætenus fui convictu scælix, tam nunc abitu discrucior. Amabis, sat scio, tui similitudinem: Clarissimæ Majorum imagines, dignitates amplissimæ, spes ampliores, ingenii mira vena, eruditio neutiquam vulgaris, ne tantillum quidem illi addunt supercilii. Et adsunt isthic quorum consuetudine possim vel rejuvenescere, *Richardus Paceus*, *Pyladeus* amicus; *Thomas Lupsetus*, quem semper filii loco dilexi, nunc ut Patronum colo. . . . Tu, in primis, mi *POLE*. Sed alligant me hic fata mea. *Ibid.*

answered, says he, a part of it only, having received the work late: and thus, from a constant promoter of peace and quiet, am forced to become a Gladiator; and, what is worse, to combat with wild beasts *.” In the same letter, he condoles with

* *Luther* offensus meâ diatribâ, modestissimè disputante, scripsit in me magnum volumen, quale nemo scriberet in *Turcam*. Huic ex parte respondimus; nam serò volumen nacti sumus. Ego ille pacis et quietis semper amantissimus, cogor esse *Retiarius*, nec hoc satis, cogor *Inpropterea*.

4 Mar. 1526.

The following incident gave occasion to the Work which *Erasmus* here complains of. *Luther*, in his Reply to *Henry* the VIII's Treatise on the Sacraments, had lost all the regard which was due to the Royal Opponent; and *Erasmus* was suspected of having some share in this disrespectful piece. On this the King, whose pensioner he was, ordered him to write against *Luther's* errors; and his friends in *England* let him know, that if he did not, his pension would be stopped. He represented to the Court, that he had no part in *Luther's* insolence; and *Tonstal*, Bishop of *London*, let him know the King was satisfied with his reasons; and pressed him at the same time, by an excellent letter, to undertake the defence of the Church against the *Hydra* which was risen against her. These remonstrances, and a fear of the King's future displeasure, and the loss of his salary, made him resolve on writing. *Luther* had intelligence of it, and signified to him, that, “as the Lord had not given him courage to throw off the Mask intirely, he would not ask any thing above his strength: That he apprehended he might be seduced by his enemies to write against him, which would lay him, *Luther*, under the necessity of coming to an open rupture. That *Erasmus* could not fail of being worsted, when he was beset on both sides. Each party, says he, perfectly well understands that what you call moderation, is nothing else but duplicity. All that I require, is, that you will be a Spectator of the Tragedy, and not write against me, and I will not trouble you.” This letter became public, and put *Erasmus* under a necessity either of engaging with *Luther*, or being suspected of a collusive treaty with him. He chose therefore *the Freedom of our Will* for his subject; and when the work was printed, he sent Copies of it to the King of *England*, to Bishop *Tonstal*, to Cardinal *Wolsey*, to the Pope's Secretary, to *George*, Brother of the Duke of *Saxony*; and made a great merit of having exposed himself, as he says, to be stoned to death by the Heretics; but that it would be glorious

Sekendorff
Hist. Luth.

Epist. Eras.
p. 834.
Edit. Basil.
apud *Froben.*

Ibid. p. 597.
et 635.

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with him on the death of his friend *Longolius*; though, says he, “I had reason to complain of him.” The subject of this complaint was a very ingenious and elegant parallel drawn between him and *Budé*; in which, though much is said in praise of the former, for which in another place he had acknowledged his obligations to the Author, yet on the whole the preference is given to *Budé* *. *Longolius* was born at *Mecklin*; and his memory, parts, and universal knowledge, made him the wonder of those times. *Leo X.* honoured him with

glorious for him to be the object of their malice in so good a cause. Whilst he endeavoured by this method to gain the favour of the Catholics, he took the very opposite to secure that of the Protestants. “You will be surpris’d, says he, to *Melanchon*, that I should write against *Luther*; *miraberis quòd libellum emisericim*; but how could I avoid it? I was a lost man if I had done otherwise. The Divines and Romish Potters, *figuli Romanenses*, had made the crowned heads believe that I was a *Lutheran*; and my friends, seeing the risk I ran of my life, promised the Pope, that I would write against *Luther*. On the other hand, *Luther*’s letter was become public, and we seem’d to have entered on articles of mutual agreement. If I had not done as I did, I was ruined. You may perhaps tell me, that I have armed the *Tyrants* against us: not at all, *Melanchon*; I talk of nothing but peace. Let all this, my friend, go no further than ourselves; I have indeed too good an opinion of your probity, to suspect you will shew this letter to any body.” He opens his mind with less reserve to *Vivès*:

“I have written, says he, a treatise on *Free Will*; but, to speak what I really think, I had then lost the freedom of my own, and I believed nothing of what I wrote; *verum ut ingenuè dicam, percidimus liberum arbitrium: illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus.*” This work put him on ill terms with *Luther* and all his party. *Luther* replied to it, and reproach’d the author with inconstancy and breach of friendship: and the *Lutherans* every where declared against him. *Erasmus*, in his turn, wrote to *Luther* with great acrimony, and against the whole body of his followers, under the title of *False-Gospellers, Pseudo-Evangelici*: and yet by a strange inconsistency, he made apologies for so doing, and declared in favour of their sentiments.

Ibid. p. 716,
&c.
Senatui Argent.

* Doleo *Longolium* immaturâ morte præreptum studiis, quanquam in me videtur iniquior, idque sine causa. *Ibid.*

with the highest marks of his approbation. At his first setting out in the career of eloquence, he indulged a luxuriance of youthful fancy, which his riper years condemned. He was at *Padua* when REGINALD came to the University; who received him, as has been said, into his family. To the studies of Humanity, he had joined those which regard the Faith and Discipline of the Gospel; and, at a very early period of life, undertook to refute *Luther's* whole System. Death prevented the execution of the design, and of five treatises, in which the case was to have been stated, he had only time to finish the first. Being near his end, he dictated a letter to his generous Benefactor, who was then absent, in which he testifies the invariable esteem he had ever held him in, and desires the remembrance of their friendship may reach beyond the grave; and bequeaths him his Library, as the only pledge he could then give him of his regard *. He died in the flower of his age, being in his four and thirtieth year, and has been celebrated by the best Judges of merit amongst his Contemporaries.

But no one has contributed so much to make this extraordinary young man's character known and approved, as the noble Friend who wrote his Life; and who, being intimately acquainted with him, was as able as willing to do him justice. The relation is drawn up with an elegance of diction and sentiment, and a maturity of thought equal

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* *Et si summis totius corporis doloribus oppressus, dubia spe vitæ, spiritum miserè duco, fecit tamen summum meum et perpetuum de te iudicium, ut hos cruciatus nescio quo modo frangerem, dum supremo hoc literarum munere ad te perfungor. . . . Peto igitur abs te per amicitiam nostram, quam ad summum pervenisse existimo, ut mortuo mihi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam necessitudo nostra postulat, humaniter ac piè præstes.* Long. Epist. l. iv. ep. 33.

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equal to any age and experience; and it may be doubted whether it does more credit to the Author or the Subject. It is prefixed to the Volume of His Letters, whose memory it preserves; and may vie, in a graceful simplicity, and all the native beauties of composition, with the Life of *Atticus*, by *Nepos*. This was the first specimen REGINALD gave of the masterly command he had of the Latin language, and of a manner of thinking, which always appeared answerable to the energy of that tongue, and to every subject he treated in it.

He collected likewise, during his stay at *Padua*, the various readings and emendations of all *Cicero's* Works, to which he added his own remarks, with an intent to publish a complete Copy of them. But the exigencies his Country fell into soon after, and the occasion she had for more substantial services than *Classic* learning could yield, made him apply himself wholly to procure her aids suited to her wants. This caused these papers to be first lain aside, then neglected, and at length lost. Had the Author been bestowed on less turbulent times, we should have seen with pleasure the first shoots of a happy and cultivated genius; and the polite and knowing world would have admired a second *Laelius*; not transferring the elegance of a *Greek* Poet into his Friend's compositions, but benefiting all mankind by his own observations on the greatest and most universal master of stile, sentiment, and instruction, that ever enlightened the heathen world.

These were his studies, his acquaintance and correspondents, during his residence at the University, which was about six years. His birth, the figure he made, and, more than these adventitious recommendations, his real and singular worth, drew on him from every quarter a regard, which his plan of life and inclination seemed to shun.

His

His reserve in producing himself to public notice was such, that he suppressed his own name when he published his friend's life; and only mentions himself when he could not avoid it, and in so cursory and careless a manner, that the reader would think he was no ways interested in the person he speaks of. *Longolius*, in a letter to *Saulius*, says, "He was a young man of singular modesty, and few words; and who had little relish for those things which are the general topics of conversation *." Yet, notwithstanding these shades and recesses, the luminous part of his character still shone out; and there was something so superior in his whole person and behaviour, that Secretary *Bembo*, at the first interview he had with him, made no difficulty to affirm, that he was the most learned, mature, and virtuous young man then in *Italy*.

It was now the Jubile year, and he sat out for *Rome*, to be present at that solemnity. But tho' he travelled as privately as decency would permit, he was received every where with particular honours. Presents were sent to him at *Florence* and elsewhere; and he was complimented by the Nobility of the several cities through which he passed; and these marks of distinction were no where shewn him with more profusion than at *Rome*. He was surprised at so unexpected a treatment; and for some time at a loss to guess who had procured it, till he was informed it was the Bishop of *Verona*. This Prelate was *Matthew Giberti*, one of the most celebrated personages of those days, and whose praises are the worthy subject of one of *Vida's* Poems.

* Nam Polus noster est ille quidem ingeniosus, & mehercule elegantissimi judicii adolescens; sed neque qui istiusmodi disputationibus de nunciis magnopere capiatur, et mira quadam tum modestia, tum taciturnitate sit præditus. *Long. Epist.* l. iii. ep. 12.

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Poems. He had been at the head of the Chancery of *Rome*, under *Leo*; and being nominated to the See of *Verona*, had erected a Printing-house in his palace, with a view chiefly to procure for the public correct editions of the *Greek Fathers*. Though he had never seen our young countryman, and knew him only from the report of others, particularly of *Bembo*, his esteem and love of merit had made him conceive the warmest and most zealous affection for him: of this he afterwards gave such proofs, as Fable itself has scarcely equaled. Several of them, which will find their place in this Work, are recorded by the noble Youth on whom they were bestowed, and make it difficult to determine whether his merit, or his friend's sense of it, be more honourable. At the time I am speaking of, he had begun a correspondence with this Prelate, of which their common friend *Bembo* writes to REGINALD in the following terms: "He reads your letters over and over; and, not content with those he receives from you, he will see those you write to me: he shews them to the best Judges, who all agree in admiring the candor, the elegance, and good sense, with which they are penned: he inquires of your studies, and of every thing which concerns you; in a word, he never ends when your praise, and the love and regard he has for you, is the subject of his conversation. I congratulate you, that a person so highly valued and courted by the greatest Potentates, has of his own accord offered you his friendship; and I congratulate myself on having been instrumental to it *."

As curiosity had no part in his taking this journey to *Rome*, having satisfied his piety in visiting the places of devotion, he left that city, without seeing

* *Bembi Epistolæ Familiares*, l. v. *Venetis*, 1552.

seeing the Pope's Court, and returned again to *Padua*, where he spent the greatest part of the following year *.

But, during the stay he made in *Italy*, several things had happened, in which the causes were lain of those events which interested all his future life, and in some of which he began to distinguish himself almost as soon as he returned to his country. *Charles V.* had made two journeys into *England*, 1520. to concert measures against the growing power of 1522. *France*, and a young Monarch at the head of it, as restless and ambitious as himself. He perceived the ascendant Cardinal *Wolfey* had in all the *British* counsels, and let himself down to every condescension which could sooth the vanity of that haughty favourite. Amongst other courtly arts, he made him an offer of his interest in the Conclave, when the Papacy should be vacated; and, in his letters to him afterwards, he treated him with the highest regard, and subscribed himself *his Son*.

Cardinal *Campegio* had come hither a few years 1518. before; and though a stranger to our language and manners, and without any thought of living amongst us, had obtained the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, and thus began a connection, which occasioned him to be sent over in the cause of the Divorce. The errand he now came on, was the project of a *Croisade* for the recovery of the holy Land; an enterprise, in which Christendom was in that age still supposed to be concerned.

* The Writers of his Life place his return to *England* immediately on his leaving *Rome*: yet a letter, which *Erasmus* wrote to him at *Padua*, on the 8th of *March*, 1526; and the date of two of *Bembo's* letters, one of the 16th of *March*, the other in *July*, of the same year, in both which mention is made of his being still there, necessarily infer his going back to that city, and the stay I have mentioned. The disagreement here of the Writers of his Life with matter of fact is not material; but the Reader is intitled to accuracy even in things which are not so.

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Martin Luther had already began a defection from the See of *Rome*, which, though inconsiderable at first, soon made that progress, to which so great a part of *Germany*, and other Kingdoms and States, still bear witness. The Tenets he advanced, had not been known in any prior age of the Christian Church: or, if ever they were set on foot, had never failed of being condemned, as repugnant to what Antiquity had always held. And his Doctrine, under the specious name of *Reformation*, allowed a great latitude both in belief and practice, and gave rise to a variety of jarring opinions, which, though they produced endless changes, wrought no amendment. The character of the Teacher was in every respect answerable to his Doctrine. He was an apostate Monk, who lived in an habitual violation of engagements, confirmed by the most solemn vows. A turbulent and furious spirit appears through almost every page of his Works, which are numerous; and abound with such ribaldry and abuse, as decency and good sense equally disown. At length, being lost to every human sentiment, this distemper of his mind transported him so far, as to give us his *Dialogues* with the Spirit of *Lies*; and the Arguments, with which this Instructor furnished him against a capital Article of the Catholic Religion. I should be wanting to the respect I owe the Reader, was I to put down what he relates of his execrable intimacies with these infernal Inmates*; it being enough for my purpose to have observed, that he acknowledges his conversion to one of them; and that he was his Master in a principal point of his Reformation†.

* *Luth. Conc. de Turb. sedand. Luth. Coll. Mens. Germ. f. 281.* In the place last cited, he says, *Diabolus frequentius et propius mihi condormit quam mea Catharina.*

† *De Abro. Mis. Pri. t. 7. n°. 26.* The Reader will find the passage at length in the Appendix, N°. 1.

The rise of these innovations gave *Henry VIII.* SECT.
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an opportunity of exerting his zeal for the Faith of his Ancestors, by a Work, in which the principal errors which *Luther* had advanced were refuted; of which the King either was, or desired to be reputed the Author. It was sent to *Rome* by a solemn Embassy, and presented by Doctor *Clark*, Dean of *Windsor*, in the King's name, to *Leo X.* in full Consistory, and received with a distinction, which so unusual a present from a crowned Head very well claimed. The Pope rose from his throne, kissed the Ambassador's cheek, assured him he would do as much for the approbation of the Work, as had been done for *St Augustin's* and *St Hierome's* in their times; and, by a very honourable decree, conferred on *Henry*, and all the succeeding Kings of *England*, the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, which they still retain, and prefix to all Acts which have the sanction of their authority. The Book is still preserved in the *Vatican Library*, and shown to strangers, particularly to the *English*. There is a Distich at the bottom of the last page, by which the King addresses the Work to his Holiness, and his Majesty's name in his own hand-writing.

Soon after, *Leo* dying, was succeeded by *Adrian VI.* 1523. who had been Preceptor to the Emperor*.

The
* Fuit sub *Adriano VI.* par bonarum omnium litterarum infortunium. Nam cum is *Leoni X.* successus esset, ad quem utpote litteratum Principem, magnus Litteratorum numerus confluxisset, dum non minora de *Adriano* sibi quisque pollicetur, ecce adest musarum et eloquentiæ, totiusque nitoris hostis acerrimus, qui Litteratis omnibus inimicitias minitaretur: quoniam, ut ipse dictitabat, *Terentiani* essent, quos cum odisse, atque etiam persequi cœpisset, voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras quærentes, tam diu latuere, quoad, Dei beneficio, altero imperii anno decessit; qui si aliquanto diutius vixisset, *Gottica* illa tempora adversus bonas artes videbatur suscitaturus. *Joan. Pier. Valer. de Litter. Infœli. l. ii.*

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The Professors of polite learning, who had resorted to his Predecessor, as to the common Patron of *Classic* merit, promised themselves the same encouragement from him : but *Adrian*, who had been educated at a *Flemish* University, was so far from answering their expectation, that he treated them with disregard, and called them, from one of their favourite Authors, *Terentians*, a term which he, as a *Schoolman*, thought reproachful. This caused them to leave his Court, and to fear the cloud was again returning, which for so many ages had intercepted the rays of Science. But he also dying within little more than a year, and a second *Medicean* Pontiff succeeding, their apprehensions ceased.

In both these vacancies of the See of *Rome*, the Emperor had thought of nothing less than his engagements to *Wolsey*; and though *Henry* had omitted nothing to advance his Minister to that high dignity, and the Cardinal's activity had exerted itself to the utmost; yet, as every promise on the Emperor's part had been broken, so every measure on the King's, and on that of the party concerned, had proved ineffectual; and *Clement VII.* was substituted to *Adrian*.

1524.

The year which succeeded *Clement's* election, a Decree was obtained from *Rome*, at the King's and Cardinal's request, to suppress about forty Religious houses for the founding of two Colleges. There was a great latitude in the Commission, and great complaints made of abuses in the execution. These reached the King's ears, who expostulated with the Cardinal in such a tone, that he thought proper either to excuse or justify himself by a very submissive letter. Though this appeased the King, it did not stop the clamour of the people, who disliked such proceedings, and looked upon them as the effects of *Wolsey's* Avarice and Ambition : and

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the censure they have met with in after-times, from persons of a different persuasion from the Church of *Rome*, is not less severe. They have treated this suppression as sacrilegious; and observed, that all who were concerned in it, the Pope not excepted, by whose authority it was carried on, were remarkably unfortunate *. As to the Foundations, in favour of which the Monasteries were suppressed, the College at *Ipswich* became a ruin almost before it was built; and the other at *Oxford* was never finished. And this very alienation furnished the XIXth Article of the Bill of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, brought against him who was the author of it.

The battle of *Pavia*, in which the *French* King was taken prisoner, gave a great change to the *English* counsels †: for as the power of the Emperor was now come to such a pitch as to have no further dependence on us, the deference with which he had hitherto treated the King was abated in proportion; and when he wrote to his Minister, he resumed again the Monarch, and subscribed himself *Charles*, without any more ceremony. This flight, added to his disappointment in his late visions of the Papacy, put *Wolsey* on every method of wreaking his revenge on him, to whom he imputed it. And now the strength of the House of *Austria* becoming formidable, it gave him an opportunity of making his Prince take umbrage at it; and by detaching him gradually from its interests, to ally him to its sworn rival. He had already entered on this plan; when, as shall be seen in its proper place, the sacking of *Rome* by the Imperial army, gave a kind of religious sanction to it; and a League was agreed on between the Kings of *England*

1524.

1527.

* *Stow, Spelman, Dugdale, Collier.*

† Embassy of *Monf. de Tarbes*, amongst *Lominie's* Collections, 33d vol.

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land and France, and no measures thought too violent by which the Emperor was to be opposed. The Divorce at this time was set on foot by the same revengeful spirit; the immediate result of which, even before it was accomplished, was his ruin who contrived it.

REGINALD POLE was now six and twenty years old; and the reputation he had gained at *Padua*, joined to the natural tenderness of a mother, made the Countess of *Salisbury* desirous he should return to his country; nor were the rest of his family less pressing on this head. The King's favour, of which he had received such early and repeated instances, seemed a sure pledge of that promotion and fortune, to which personal merit could intitle one who was so nearly allied to the Royal blood. And as *Henry* was magnificent in all his inclinations, there were no views to which they thought he would not allow his Kinsman to aspire. In compliance therefore with this request, he sat out on his journey to *England*, where his fame was gone before him; and to the embraces of a Parent and Family, who seemed to rest their chief hopes on the expectations they had conceived of him, and to whom he was no less dear than they to him.

1527.

When he returned to his country, the King was in the thirty sixth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his accession to the crown. His reign had hitherto appeared prosperous, and he was accounted one of the greatest and most fortunate Princes in *Europe*. The two contending powers, whose ambition engaged all the neighbouring states in their quarrels, *France* and the house of *Austria*, courted his alliance, and obtained it alternately, as the caprice or views of *Wolsey*, by whose counsel he was intirely governed, happened to favour the one or the other. The wars he had waged with the former, though neither necessary in themselves, nor

advan-

advantageous to his people, and carried on with enormous expence, had generally been attended with such circumstances and success as flattered his vanity, and by that means laid him still more open to the ascendant his Minister had gained over him, and to the designs of his Neighbours. He had humbled the *Scotch*, who, at the instigation of *France*, had taken the advantage of his absence, and invaded *England*: and the justice and necessity of repelling an enemy, had given his arms a lustre, which till then had been wanting. An immoderate propension to pleasure, which went through his whole reign; distinguished the beginning of it; and he had scarce filled the Throne, when the Court, from a scene of sordid Frugality, which it had been in his Father's time, immediately became the seat of Voluptuousness and Prodigality. He delighted in feasting, music, and play; and in the excessive pursuit of these diversions, as well as in a wasteful and ostentatious manner of making Treaties, and carrying on War, squandered an almost incredible treasure, of which the late King's rapine and extortion had left him the possession. The Annals of his reign are for ever checquered with revels, masks, and courtly or military pageants. As he advanced in years, this indulgence to sensuality increased, and he was known to have raised persons to a considerable fortune, only for drawing back his chair when they perceived the fire was uneasy to him, or for roasting a sucking pig to his palate. Amongst the various instances of Justice, Liberality, and other virtues, which recommended the laudable part of his life, he was never known to have done one single act of Clemency. This was attributed to an effeminate disposition of mind which inclines to cruelty. It was constantly observed, that he never forgot the slightest suspicion of offence, and never spared

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wheresoever he apprehended resistance*. His accession had been signalized by confirming an act of Grace, which his Father on his death-bed had granted to all his subjects; but the Son excepted those, who, under pretence of maintaining the prerogative, had oppressed the people, and invited every body to bring in their accusations against them. *Dudley* and *Empson*, the chief instruments of iniquity in the former reign, had so screened themselves by the subterfuges of the Law, that though they stood convicted in the minds of every individual of the nation, they could not be legally condemned. In order therefore to bring them to punishment for crimes of which they were guilty, they were tried and condemned on a frivolous indictment for Treason, of which they were innocent. This trespass on Justice carried however, in some measure, its excuse with it, by delivering up delinquents, whom the general voice of mankind had devoted to destruction. But the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose large revenues were his crime; and of *Edmund* Earl of *Suffolk*, who was executed without any trial or form of justice, and was the effect of the King's apprehensions from the house of *York*, or of his resentment to that Nobleman's brother, who was in the *French* service, admitted of no alleviation. This unfortunate Nobleman had succeeded to a long descent of hereditary honours, and was also called *POLE*; but the achievements of the two families being intirely different, there is no reason to think they had any thing common but their name. These were the preludes to all those acts of blood which stained

* Cum cæterarum virtutum speciem aliquam referret.
Clementiæ nullum unquam signum ostendit id quod ef-
fœminatæ ejus naturæ multi tribuunt, talis enim crudelitatem
sæpe gignit. *Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum V. Cæsarem*,
Nº 19.

stained this Prince's reign, and gave Sir *Walter Raleigh* occasion to say, that "if all the examples of a merciless Prince were lost, they might be found in him." The consciousness of his personal accomplishments, which were really great, inflamed both his self-conceit and the natural violence of his temper: and, from a constant gratification of his inclinations, he grew impatient of whatever checked them; and at last broke through all restraints, human and divine. His father, either through ignorance of what Education was fitting for a young Prince of such expectation, or from an ungenerous and selfish turn of mind, which seems to have been the principle of his whole conduct, had diverted his son's attention from attainments which relate to the proper discharge of the duties of Sovereignty, and trained him to the Learning of the Schools; to the Logic of *Aristotle*, and the Theology of *St Thomas Aquinas*. A ready genius and relish for Letters, caused him to be the declared Protector of all who excelled in them. *Erasmus*, in a letter to the Elector of *Mentz*, says, "that Learning triumphed in *England*, and that the King and Queen, the two Cardinals, and almost all the Bishops, exerted themselves in promoting and encouraging it." And in another, of the year 1518, "the King, he says, who is the most judicious Prince of his age, delights in Literature; the Queen is knowing, in a degree very uncommon to her sex; nor less commendable for piety than knowledge: and, in general, Prudence and Erudition are the surest recommendation to the favour of both." He then mentions *Linacre*, the King's Physician; *Cuthbert Tunstal*, Master of the Rolls; *Thomas More*, of the Privy Council; *Pace*, Secretary of State; *William Montjoy*, the Queen's Chamberlain; *John Colet*, Preacher to their Majesties; and as yet, he adds, I have only

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named the chief. *John Stokesley*, who, besides scholastic Divinity, has an unusual insight into the three learned Languages, is Clerk of the Closet." At length he concludes, "the Court abounds with such eminent Men, that it is rather a seat of the Muses than a palace, and may vie with any School of Philosophy, with *Athens* itself*." It was some years after honoured with the presence of *Lewis Vivés*, the second *Quintilian* that *Spain* has produced; and who was sent for from *Flanders*, to instruct the Princess *Mary* in the Latin tongue.

It may be questioned if any Court, in any age or country, could boast at the same time, a set of so many learned men. The testimony alone of *Erasmus*, so good a judge, and so intimately acquainted with them, will satisfy every Reader; but those who are conversant with their character and writings, as I have already said when I had occasion to mention them, will have no need, even of *Erasmus's* testimony, to be convinced that their merit is equal to what he has said of it.

In all these advantages, with which our country was privileged, the encouragement given by the King had a principal part. His dispositions in his happier days were truly royal: he shewed a high regard to Religion, wherever it was concerned; a sense of piety, and a love of justice: as yet he had given

* Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ litteræ. Rex ipse cum suâ Reginâ, Cardinales ambo. Episcopi fere omnes toto pectore tuentur, fovent, alunt, ornantque. *Linacrus Medicum* agit *Cuthbertus Tonsillius* illi est à Scriniis *Thomas Morus* est à Consiliis *Paceus* ab Epistolis *Gulielmus Montjouis* Reginæ famulitio præfectus est *Johannes Coletus* est à sacris concionibus. Præcipuos duntaxat recensui. *Johannes Stokesleyus*, præter Scholasticam hanc Theologiam, in quâ nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus, à sacris. Hujusmodi viris ea referta est Regia, veriùs *μουσείον* quàm aula: quas tu *Athenas*, quam *Stoam*, aut quod *Lyceum* ejusmodi prætuleris aulæ?

Ad Paul. Bombas, Basilicæ, 1518.

LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

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given no indication of cruelty, except in the two Noblemen above mentioned. His generosity not only conferred gratuities on such as had deserved them, but invited all who had any claim to excellence, and made no distinction between his own Subjects and Foreigners; and he rewarded merit wherever he found it. On this account several, eminent for Learning and Arts, resorted to him, from other countries, as to the Judge and Patron of what was excellent *. Thus his general character, at that period of his life which answers to this part of REGINALD's History, placed him on a level with the most popular and plausible Kings.

He received his Kinsman, at his arrival, with every demonstration of esteem and favour; saw him at Court with complacence, and distinguished him on several occasions. He was pleased to bring him acquainted with the merit of his own Subjects, as he had been with that of foreign Princes; and I remember, says REGINALD, that in a full drawing-room, addressing his discourse to me, he said, he was of opinion, that in all my Travels I had met with no person, either in virtue or learning, comparable to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*†. *Fisher*. The Queen's regard for him was equal to that of the King: for though she had not the same tie of consanguinity, which united him to her royal Consort; there was another motive, derived from her own dispositions, no less powerful in his favour. That Princess had felt all the horrors of the bloody policy by which the death of the Earl of *Warwick* was made a necessary stipulation to her marriage, and had often signified her forebodings of the vengeance which would wait on it. It was apprehended, that the title of the House of *York* might one day revive in this young Prince; and *Henry VII.*

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* *Apologia Reg. Poli ad Car. V.* §. 14.

† *Ibid.* §. 20.

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and *Ferdinand* had got rid of those fears, by an expedient suited to both their characters; and, by adding the mockery of justice to murder, had, on a pretended conspiracy, taken away the life of a Prince, whose only guilt was his relation to the Crown. The Queen had already done every thing in her power to atone for the sin, and repair the injury of so foul a deed. The Countess of *Salisbury*, mother to REGINALD POLE, being sister to the unfortunate victim of her father's jealousy, she committed the care of the Princess *Mary's* education to her; treated her and all her Children with remarkable affection; and was accustomed to say, her mind would never be at ease, unless the Crown reverted again to the Earl of *Warwick's* family, by a marriage of one of his sister's sons to her daughter; and thus some reparation made for the injustice done to the brother: and, amongst all that Lady's numerous offspring, she had ever shown a predilection to REGINALD. Nor was the consideration he was held in confined to the Court or his own family; but he soon drew on himself the general love and admiration of the whole nation. His high birth; the rank he held in his Sovereign's favour; his extraordinary accomplishments, joined to great affability, a readiness to oblige, a blameless life, and singular sense of Religion, were qualities which reflected a lustre on each other, and made him valuable in proportion as he was known.

Hitherto his character had only been approved by the innocence of his manners, and a happy and cultivated genius; but a scene was now opening, and such a part assigned him, as required all the firmness and generosity of a soul, superior to hope and fear, and every tender feeling of nature. This was the King's divorce from the Queen, which, with respect to REGINALD POLE, was one of those trials,

trials, to which only the greatest men are exposed, and to which they alone are equal. As yet it had been whispered only within the walls of the palace; but now it began to take air, and to be debated by the King's orders: and the subject of this work requiring the Reader should be enabled to make a just and adequate judgment of it, I shall set it briefly before him.

Henry VII. of *England*, and *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, had entered on an alliance with the Emperor, against *France*; and in order to cement it more firmly, *Ferdinand* had given his second daughter *Jane* in marriage to *Philip*, son of the Emperor *Maximilian*; and *Catharine* the elder to *Arthur*, heir apparent to the *British* Crown. Neither of these matches proved fortunate: *Jane*, in a literal sense, loved her husband to distraction, the violence of her affection having caused her to lose her senses; and *Catharine* became a widow when she was scarce a wife. But it being the mutual interest of *England* and *Spain* that their union should subsist, though this tie was broken, a renewal of the alliance was proposed, by marrying *Arthur's* widow to *Henry*, the King of *England's* only surviving son: and the Pope's dispensation for it was obtained. But the King, whose ruling passion was Avarice, insisted on an augmentation of the sum which the Princess had already brought with her; and *Ferdinand*, who was as unwilling to part with money, as *Henry* was greedy of getting it, availed himself of the dower settled on his daughter, insisted on her being sent back to him, and raised other difficulties from pecuniary considerations. *Henry*, though he saw no other match more suitable to his son, yet, either to work on *Ferdinand's* apprehensions, or for other reasons, which it seems hard to account for, had caused the young Prince to enter a protest against the marriage. However,

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The Council of the new Monarch immediately met to deliberate, if the intended marriage was advantageous to the realm; if it was not contrary to the divine Law; if the Papal dispensation was valid; and, lastly, if any fresh difficulty was risen from the King's protest. Doctor *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though at first averse to the match, came over to the general opinion of the other Counsellors; and the King, having had all the difficulties which had been proposed lain before him, accomplished his marriage, with the unanimous consent of all the States of the Kingdom, on the 3d of *June*, 1509, six weeks after his accession. Seventeen years had passed before any doubts were raised concerning the lawfulness of this proceeding. The King, before his nuptials, had professed the highest personal regard for the Princess; and afterwards frequently declared, he had found no reason to change his opinion of her *. He had found her a Maid, when he took her to his bed, as he acknowledged to the Emperor, her nephew, at a time when he had no thoughts of a divorce; and the solemn asseveration which the Queen made in open court, when the fact came to be questioned, appealing to God and the King's conscience for the truth of what she said, must put it beyond all doubt. He had several children by her, of which the Princess *Mary* only was living; and any illegitimacy in her birth had been so little dreamt of, that she had successively been asked in marriage by the chief crowned Heads in *Europe*.

The pretence for calling the legality of the King's marriage in question, was a prohibition recorded

* *R. Poli Apologia, ad Car. V. Cæs.*

corded in *Leviticus*, by which the Jews were forbidden to marry the widow of a deceased brother; and it was urged, that this Law was equally binding under the Christian as under the Mosaical dispensation; and, being founded on the nature of things, could not be dispensed with. This objection had been fully considered when the marriage was in debate; and answered, in the following manner, to the intire satisfaction of all parties: That the Law in question, even at the time it was enacted, admitted of exceptions, which were not only authorised, but even prescribed by God himself: That the Lawgiver had supposed the case of *Deuteron.* a man dying without issue, and not only permitted, *ch. xxv.* but commanded his brother to marry the widow, on pain of being declared infamous. In this manner the question concerning *Henry's* marriage would have been of no very difficult solution, had the search of truth alone been intended: but the abettors of a powerful King's passion so perplexed it, that the heads of men grew giddy in endeavouring to find any meaning of the Law, but the true; and more efforts were made to invalidate one lawful marriage, than had been taken to ratify all the contracts of matrimony since its first institution.

The Queen now began to be in years, and subject to infirmities, which frequent miscarriages had brought on; and her state of health allowed her husband small hopes of seeing her mother of a Son, of which he was very desirous. The disappointed ambition of *Wolsey* in his views on the Papacy, which he imputed to *Charles V.* had, as I have already said, spirited up his revengeful temper against the Nephew and the Aunt. The Queen, whose character was extremely decent, like that of her mother, whose memory is yet in veneration amongst the *Spaniards*, had made no secret of her disapprobation of the Cardinal's behaviour, which

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which was quite unbecoming the Purple. The disposition this Minister was in, of seconding his Master's inclinations, however contrary to what duty required of him, as he himself confessed, when he was going to fall a sacrifice to the very measures he had concerted, had either given birth to the project of the Divorce, or encouraged and flattered the King in it. Another spring to these proceedings, more powerful than all the rest, was the influence of *Anne Bullen*, who was lately returned from the *French* Court, and now began to appear at that of *England*, in the bloom of youth, and with all those blandishments, by which art, and a desire to please, attract attention. The King, not long after, was seized with a violent passion for her, which she practised every art to inflame, yet refused to gratify. But as none of these reasons could be pleaded as arguments for dissolving his marriage, he alledged a concern for his people on account of the Illegitimacy, and, consequently, the doubtful right of the Princess *Mary* to the crown; and an uneasiness of conscience concerning the lawfulness of marriage with a brother's relict. The earliest document which remains of these proceedings, is a letter of Secretary *Pace* to the King, in which he informs him, that he had treated with *Dr Wakefield* of the Divorce, and that the Doctor was ready to resolve the question, either in the negative or affirmative, just as the King thought proper, and in such a manner as all the Divines in *England* should not be able to make any reply. This letter is dated in 1526, and, to *Wakefield's* eternal infamy, is still extant *. *Wolsey* had already engaged *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the King's Confessor, a well-meaning but weak man, to move this doubt to him. A scruple which favours inclination is generally well received;

* *Le Grand*, tom. 3. pag. 1.

ceived; and the Cardinal, who had the merit of raising it, proposed to *Henry*, the Duchess Dowager of *Alençon*, sister to the *French* King; to whose interests he now endeavoured to attach him. Some time after, *Grammont*, Bishop of *Tarbes*, the *French* Ambassador, overcome by the Cardinal's importunities, represented to *Henry* that his marriage had given great offence in *France*, and that his conscience was interested in having the lawfulness of it dilucidated. This discourse passed at *Hampton-Court*, where there had been a ball, which the King opened with *Anne Bullen*; and he takes notice of it, a year and a half after, in a speech to the Lord Mayor and the Common Council.

We need go no higher for the motives of *Grammont*'s compliance with *Wolfsey*'s request, than the situation in which his Master now stood with respect to *England*. The alliance of a great and opulent people was become necessary to *France*, in order to counter-balance the arms of *Austria*; and *Henry* alone could supply the sum which was to ransom the Dauphin and his brother, who, on their Father's release, were detained prisoners in *Spain*. Reasons of state are supposed to exclude of course all inquiry into the equity or injustice of measures, and being managed by Churchmen does not always clear them of this censure. A Council of Conscience, as it is termed, is frequently called, that the most iniquitous proceedings may seem to have had the sanction of a nice and religious scrutiny. These considerations engaged *Francis* to support the cause of the Divorce, both in the Universities of his own Kingdom, and at the Court of *Rome*; and that City being taken the same year, 1527, by the Imperial army, and the Pope become a prisoner in his own capital, gave the Kings of *England* and *France* a still more plausible pretext of uniting

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uniting against the Emperor; and to *Henry* an opportunity of availing himself of his good offices to the holy See, and, at the same time, of soliciting his own cause at her supreme Court of Judicature. The *English*, on this occasion, had signalized their respect and attachment to his Holiness, and the King had sent him a very liberal remittance. This present was accompanied with a letter, in which he testifies a readiness to expose his own life, in avenging the injury done to God and his Church, in the person of her chief Pastor, and to concur with the *French* King in any measures, to prevent the evils which threatened the common cause. And *Clement* had no sooner recovered his liberty, but *Secretary Knight*, and *Cassali*, an *Italian* Gentleman, and Agent for *Henry*, were the first to compliment him on it. He told them, he had not forgotten what the King their Master, and the Cardinal, had done for him in the day of his late distress, and that his gratitude should be answerable to their good offices.

On this they opened their commission, by taking notice of the regard which the *English* Kings and Nation had ever paid to the Church; and the important services they already had done, and might still do her. They then represented how much it was for the honour and interest of the holy See, to prevent the misfortunes which hung over the kingdom, in case the King came to die without a male Heir: and, as the Queen was no longer in a condition of bearing children, they humbly intreated his Holiness to cause the dispensation, by which the King had married his brother's Widow, to be examined. The Pope's answer was so favourable, that they immediately went to the Cardinal, whom, he said, he should consult on the affair, and shewed him a copy of the dispensation. It was drawn up in *England*, and answered all the
King's

King's purposes; but as the Cardinal perceived it could not be granted, without casting an irreparable blemish on the reputation of all who were concerned in it, at their request he drew up another, with which they seemed satisfied. It enabled the King to marry whoever he thought proper, provided his marriage with the Queen was unlawful, and declared such.

Wolfey in the mean while was under an uneasiness, which he alone could have expressed who felt it. The desire of avenging himself on the Emperor, had given place to considerations of nearer concern to himself. *Anne Bullen*, on her first coming to *England*, had conceived an aversion to him, for his breaking off, though by the King's orders, a marriage which was on foot between her and young *Piercy*, son to the Earl of *Northumberland*. She had since been informed of his views of giving the *French* King's sister to *Henry*; and the high degree of favour she was now in, could brook no Rival in the King's confidence. She hated him, and resolved his ruin. These extremities made him have recourse to every industry, to support a credit which was now in the wane, and was to fill its orb no more. The roads between *England* and *Rome* were taken up by Couriers passing to and fro: each day gave birth to some new project; and measures were no sooner taken than changed.

Gardiner and *Fox*, who were afterwards promoted to the Sees of *Winchester* and *Hereford*, had instructions not to cease importuning the Pope till he had granted what they asked. He appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to examine the affair; but whilst it was discussing, being at length overcome by their importunity, he told them to return their Master the following answer: "That if he was assured of the reasonableness and justice of his
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 fuit, he had nothing more to do than to take another Wife; but, at the same time, he forewarned him of the usual consequences of such proceedings: That the Queen would enter a protest both against the Place and the Commissioners, if the cause was tried in his dominions: That the Emperor, her nephew, would not fail to require that *Henry* should be prohibited from entering on a second marriage, till the suit was ended; and if, notwithstanding the inhibition, he took this step, the offspring of such an engagement would be Illegitimate."

The general sense of the Nation concurred with the Pope's declaration; and the influence of Royal authority, when the Bishops were summoned to give their opinion, had not prevailed on them to come to a resolution. This resistance irritated a passion it was designed to check: it magnified in the King's fancy the charms of his Mistress, and the Queen's infirmities; and made him so far overlook decency, as to desire the Pope might be acquainted with them, and cause them to be alledged as sufficient reason for his separation from her.

Whilst the Court and Kingdom, and almost all *Europe*, were thus agitated by the effects of the King's passion, a new Character rose up, who, soon after, proposed a shorter way to end the debate. As he imagined that Kings have no occasion for any other rule of action besides their own will; and their Counsellors nothing to do, but to consult their inclinations; he instructed *Henry* in the arbitrary extent of Prerogative, and became the instrument by which he exerted it. By virtue of these principles, the King divorced and married as often, and for what reasons he thought fit; and, assuming an universal supremacy both in Church and State, had the whole legislative power invested in himself, even by that Parliament, who, by their office,

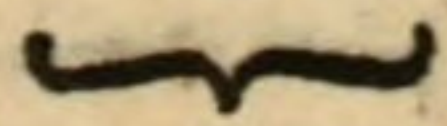
office, constitute a principal part of it. This person was *Thomas Cromwell*, afterwards Earl of *Essex*, and the King's *Vicar-General*; who has delineated himself in such a manner, in a conversation with REGINALD POLE, of which he has given us the heads, that all other portraits must fall short of a piece in which the Artist draws himself.

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I.

“ Some time after my return from *Italy*, says REGINALD, I met him in the Cardinal of *York*'s *Wolsey*. palace, in whose service he then was; and, after the usual compliments, he fell into a discourse on the necessary qualifications of those who are called to the Councils of Princes. His motive, I suppose, was to sift me concerning the Divorce, which then divided the Privy Council, as he knew my opinion of the affair could not fail of being asked. My answer was, that I thought it the duty of every such person, above all other considerations, to advise what was most conducing to his Prince's honour and interest, and enlarged myself, from the dictates of Reason, and the best Authors, on the nature of Virtue, in which both honour and interest are grounded. He replied, that these notions were very plausible, when delivered in the Schools or from the Pulpit, but were of little use in the Cabinets of Kings; and, if much insisted on, instead of being favourably heard, would create hatred and aversion to the Adviser, as they seldom fall in with the Prince's inclinations, and are quite foreign to what is practised in Courts: That Prudence and Experience chiefly discovered themselves in proposing what was seasonable as to time, place, and other circumstances: That men of letters were often deceived, and fell into disgrace for want of this knowledge: That those very things which a Prince would hear with approbation from a Preacher, would be rejected by him with disdain, if urged as the Rule of his proceedings; that this

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was a Science which the Universities did not teach, and therefore those who came raw from them to the Council-board, were liable to great oversights. He strengthened what he was saying by the example of several, who, because they would not depart from the principles they had imbibed there, had forfeited their Prince's favour, were become useless, or had brought ruin on themselves and families. From whence he concluded, that the chief concern of a person in this station, should be to study his Prince's inclinations, in which much sagacity was required, as they sometimes lie disguised under appearances of a very different import: that it became Kings to use the specious names of religion, equity, and other virtues, though their designs were not always regulated by them: that true ability lay in discovering what their real intentions were; and, then, in managing affairs in such sort as they might obtain their ends, and yet no open failure in religion or probity be observed; and that this ability was seen in proportion as the Minister could reconcile the appearances of virtue, which Princes were unwilling to give up, with the substantial interest of the state. That this was a compendious way to secure favour and authority with them, and to be useful to one's self and others.

“ This was the sum of *Cromwell's* discourse, which was long; from whence I gathered, that, if he really thought as he spoke, and had been *Nero's* Counsellor, when the murder of his mother was in debate; he who acknowledged no law, when his Prince's inclination was to be gratified, and made religion and integrity bend to it, would not have been at a loss to justify that parricide. However, I made no reply to this barefaced impiety, and only said, I imagined he had entered on the discourse for argument sake, and did not mean to deliver his
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real sentiments. He made no apology for any thing he had advanced; but perceiving, as well he might, both from my countenance, and some words which dropped from me, that I was rather displeased than taken with his Politics, he replied, It was no wonder, if having as yet little use of public affairs, I did not comprehend what experience alone could teach, especially as it did not agree with those tenets in which I had been brought up; but now, as I had done with books and retirement, if I would mix in public life, and give myself to business, I should see how wide a difference there was between the maxims of real policy, and those idle speculations, on which men, who have nothing else to do, discant in the Schools: That these were very unskilful Teachers of an Art, which could be learned from Practice only; and that a short Discourse of an experienced person was more to the purpose than whole Volumes of such Philosophers: That if I needs must have books, I should at least read those who allow more to experience than to speculation: That he had one of a very acute Modern, who did not, like *Plato*, publish his own dreams, and draw up the plan of a Commonwealth, which, for so many ages, had never been reduced to practice, but had lain down maxims and observations, of which daily experience confirmed the truth; and, if I would give him leave, and promise to read the book, he would send it me: That he had a great regard for me, and foresaw to what difficulties I should be exposed, if I let myself be carried away by notions of men unacquainted with the world, though otherwise ever so learned; and had not a greater deference to those who had joined eminent parts to a habit of business. Having thanked him for his civilities, and promised to read the Work, we parted.

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I.

II Prin-
cipe.

“ Soon after the King, not finding that compliance with his desires, which he expected, even in those who were thought to have given occasion to them, began to make use of this man’s ill-fated abilities, and admit him to his most secret deliberations; and then the conversation, which had passed between us, was a seasonable warning to me to flee an unhospitable shore. If any thing could give me a greater insight into his character, it was the book itself he so much extolled, tho’ never sent me. I imagine he already repented having lain himself so open; but being informed of his private readings, by those who were acquainted with them, I procured the Work, and was as eager to peruse it, as any one could be to intercept dispatches which discovered the designs of an enemy. On reading it, I found, in effect, every stratagem by which Religion, Justice, and good Faith, were to be defeated; and every human and divine Virtue become a prey to Selfishness, Dissimulation, and Falshood. It was wrote by one *Machiavel*, a native of *Florence*, and intituled, *On the Art of Government*; and is such a performance, that was *Satan* himself to leave a Successor, I do not well see by what other maxims he would direct him to reign *.”

He then goes on to give an Abridgment of the work, which had not been published many years; and perhaps owes its first appearance, as well as approbation in this kingdom, to the King’s Vicar-General in Spirituals. But a detail of this subject belongs to another place, and shall be related from the same unexceptionable Author.

As yet He had not been called on to give his opinion of the Divorce; his studies having been of that kind which form a polite Scholar, not a Divine; his years also might not appear sufficiently

* Apolog. Reg. Poli, § 29, et seq.

ently ripe for such a discussion: and the cause being now before the Bishop of *Rome*, its proper Judge, he was so far from any obligation of forestalling the sentence, that silence was both more prudent and respectful. He waited therefore the occasion to declare himself, when his discretion could as little be called in question as his fortitude.

Notwithstanding the privilege of such a situation, and the sunshine of Royal favour which still encompassed him, he resolved to withdraw from it. The Court was become a scene of intrigue, to which his breast was a stranger. He was a constant witness to the wanderings of a Prince, to whom he had the highest obligations, and whom he loved with all the sincerity of a loyal and thankful heart: nor would his integrity and gratitude allow him to interest himself less in the case and honour of the Queen, who was now treated with coldness and disregard. However, that this retreat might not give offence, or draw on him his Prince's displeasure, he alledged a desire of prosecuting his Studies where he should meet with fewer avocations; and obtained his Majesty's consent to go to the *Carthusians* at *Shene*, where he had passed several years of his youth, and where there was a very handsome house, and every thing fitted to his purpose within the inclosure of that Monastery.

This building was raised by Doctor *John Colet*; a name too respectable to be slightly passed over on this occasion. He was son to Sir *Henry Colet*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and was first sent to *Oxford*, and from thence to the University of *Paris*, and lastly, for the study of the Canon Law, to *Padua*. He had made *Tully* familiar to him from his childhood, and was very conversant in the writings of the Fathers, and particularly in the holy Scriptures,

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tures, of which the Commentaries he has left are an abundant proof. On returning to his country, he explained Saint *Paul's* Epistles at *Oxford*, to the universal satisfaction of his audience, and chiefly of *Erasmus*, who was then at the University, and constantly attended his Lectures. Being afterwards appointed Preacher to the Court, he continued his Lectures in *St Paul's* church with equal applause; and, amongst other excellencies, is said to have had the advantage of a graceful person and elocution, above any person of his age. *Henry VII.* had conferred on him the Deanry of that Cathedral, and he employed the income of this and his other benefices in founding near it, a free School for 153 poor mens Children, with a salary for a Chaplain, Master, and Usher. He died in the year 1519, being only fifty three years old, and his body was found in a leaden coffin in the wall of that church in 1680. *Erasmus* always speaks of him as one of the most polite geniuses, able divines, and best men in *England*; and that he had, for thirty years, lamented no death so much as his. In a letter to the Bishop of *Hereford*, having given at that Prelate's request, a short sketch of his friend's life, he has the following passage concerning the house which *REGINALD* chose for his retirement. "Several persons, says he, wondered he should build so stately a fabric within the inclosure of the *Carthusians*, which is not far from *Richmond* palace. His answer was, that he designed it as a retreat for his old age, when either broken with years, or unfit for business, he should be under a necessity to withdraw from the eyes of the public: and that it was his desire to enjoy there the society of two or three chosen friends, amongst whom he used to place me. But death

death prevented that Scheme from taking effect *.”

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I.

The Writers of REGINALD's Life have given us no particulars of the two years he passed here; nor are there any letters or other pieces to throw any light on the subject. We are informed in general, that this solitude answered the two purposes for which he had made choice of it; to perfect himself in literature; and not be a spectator of proceedings which he could not but condemn.

He had not been long at *Shene*, when the Court and the whole Kingdom were thrown into a strange consternation at the breaking out of the Sweating Sickness, the fatal consequences of which have been recorded by our Historians. This pestilential *Ephmera* was a fever of one day; and the patient died or recovered within twenty four hours after he was seized. It first appeared in *Henry* the Seventh's army, at their landing from *France* at *Milford-haven*, in the year 1483, and afflicted *England* six several times within the space of sixty eight years. On the third return, in 1517, it was so violent, that it usually killed in three hours time; and in some towns it swept away half the inhabitants. In the year 1551, which was its last appearance, it began in *Shrewsbury*, where, in a few days, it destroyed near a thousand persons, and from thence spread itself over all *England*. It constantly began with the warm weather, and ceased at the approach of winter. After the first

1528.

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visit,

* Multi mirabantur quòd magnificas ædes extruxerit intra pomœria Monasterii *Carthusiensium*, quod non procul abest à regiâ quæ dicitur *Richmonda*: Aiebat, se parare sedem illam suæ senectuti, cum jam impar laboribus, aut morbo fractus cogeretur se submovere ab hominum consortio. Illic erat animus philosophari cum duobus aut tribus amiculis eximijs, inter quos me solitus est numerare; sed mors antevertit. *Epist.* P. 435.

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visit, it disappeared during the space of two years only; one and twenty, after the second; eleven, after the third and fourth; and then was three and twenty years before it broke out again, and has never been heard of since, either in our own or any other country. There was something so peculiar in the infection, that the *English* alone were liable to it. Foreigners who were amongst us, and even the *Scotch*, who inhabit the same island, were exempted: and it attacked the *English* in other Countries, whilst it spared the *Natives*. Doctor *Cajus*, our learned countryman, who was a student at *Padua* about the time I am speaking of, has given us his conjectures concerning the cause of this particularity *. His observation, however, that Foreigners who were then in *England* were not seized with it, admitted of exceptions.

Bellay, Bishop of *Bayonne*, the *French* Ambassador at the *English* Court, was one of them; and sent the following account to *Anne* of *Montmorency*, high Steward to the *French* King's Household. "One of Mrs *Anne Bullen's* women, says
18th June. he, was taken ill of the Sweating sickness on *Tuesday* last. On this the King removed to a seat twelve miles distant from *London*; and the Lady, as I am told, was sent to her Father's in *Kent*.--- As yet the King's passion for her is not abated: I cannot say what effects absence, and the difficulties he meets with from *Rome*, may produce.--- This distemper began to appear four days ago, and affords the easiest kind of death imaginable: the help even of Physicians is not necessary. A slight head-ach and sickness at stomach, is followed by sweating; and if the patient is kept too warm, or not warm enough, he dies in four, and sometimes

* *Cajus* de *Ephemerâ Britannicâ*.— Doctor *Hilary's* Inquiry into the Method of improving Medical Knowledge, p. 593.

times in two or three hours, without further trouble. About two thousand have already been taken with it. Yesterday, as I was going to sign the suspension of arms, I beheld an incredible number of people leave the streets and the shops, and make all the haste they could to their houses, to sweat, as soon as they found themselves ill. The Priests have their hands as full as the Physicians, and are not numerous enough to bury the dead. The like disease raged here twelve years ago, and carried off, as I am informed, ten thousand persons in ten or twelve days; and yet was not so contagious as it now is. My Lord Legate came up to keep Term, but left the town immediately, and there will be neither Term nor Sittings: Every body is in the utmost consternation." ---

In another dispatch he writes thus: "The Lady is still at her father's: the King continues to remove from one place to another, to shun the infection: a considerable number are dead of it in three or four hours. All the Lords of the Bed-chamber, except one, have already been, or are actually ill of it. The King keeps himself shut up alone. The contagion is as rife in the Legate's family: those who only put their hands out of bed, for the four and twenty hours after they are taken ill, become stiff like a piece of mortar. Yet, after all, the persons who do not expose themselves to the air escape; and, whatever reports may have been spread, of eleven thousand, who have died of the distemper, two thousand only have died." Towards the end of the Letter, "the King, says he, perceiving it was to no purpose to change place, has at length fixed his residence at a house built by my Lord Legate, about twenty miles from hence. I am credibly informed he has made his Will, and received the Sacraments of Penitence and the holy Eucharist,

Cardinal
Wolsey,
who was
Chancel-
lor.

30th June.

*Hampton-
Court.*

SECT. not to be taken unawares. He has not however
I. been ill; and, if he should, which God forbid,

I do not foresee he would run any great risk." —
22d July. In a third Dispatch, he says, "the Disease begins to abate in *London*, and to get ground in places where it has not yet been felt; and at present rages in *Kent*. Mrs *Bullen* and her father have had it, but are out of danger. On the day that the Sweating took me, at the Archbishop's of *Canterbury*, eighteen of the family died within four hours. I was almost the only person who survived, and am not yet quite recovered. The King is retired to a greater distance; and though he hopes to escape, he takes all precautions against what may happen: confesses himself every day; and receives the blessed Sacrament on all Festivals. The Queen, who is with him, does the same; and my Lord Legate, at his residence. The Lawyers have lately had full employment; I believe a hundred thousand Wills have been made; for those who die of this distemper, lose their senses when it begins to come to a head. I have sent his Majesty's compliments of condolence on this occasion, to the King, his Brother, and to my Lord Legate; and doubt not of their being well received."

But as the effects of mere fear are generally not more lasting than the danger which occasioned them; for though it checks the action, it leaves the dispositions just as they were; this apprehension was no sooner over, but Mrs *Anne Bullen* appeared again on the scene as before: on which the Ambassador expresses himself to the High Steward in these words; "to tell you my mind, the King's affections are so deeply engaged, that nothing less powerful than the hand of God can rescue him." This miracle, however, was so far from being wrought in his favour, that "Mrs
Bullen

Bullen had an apartment adjoining to the King's, fitted up with the highest luxury, and more court paid her than to the partner of his throne." "I suppose, adds the Ambassador, he has a mind to inure his people to patience, and prepare them for the stroke he meditates. He continues hardened, and would proceed to greater extremities, was his power less limited." ---- These were the preludes to an event, which not only involved all his future life, whose History I write, but was permitted by the unsearchable counsels of Providence, to cause a total subversion of that Religion which he afterwards restored.

In the mean time the Court of *Rome*, prevailed on by the intreaties of *Wolsey*, and the indefatigable industry of *Fox* and *Gardiner*, had carried her condescension to *Henry* as far as even the appearances of equity would allow. He had testified a great desire that the cause of the Divorce might be tried within his own kingdom. This was granted; and it was no sooner known that *Campegio* and *Wolsey* were appointed Judges, but the issue of the suit was by the public voice given in his favour. The former was esteemed one of the ablest Canonists and Negotiators of those times: he was personally known to the King, and had been gratified by him, several years before, with the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. And so many motives concurred to interest *Wolsey*, who was joined in the Commission, in bringing it to the conclusion the King desired, that it is needless to instance any.

The Pope, to give the King a further mark of his regard, had sent a provisional Decree, every way favourable to the Divorce, but which was to be seen by him and *Wolsey* alone, and then committed to the flames. As to the particulars, whether it was any more than a draught, and whether the

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the King ever saw it, is yet a secret, and nothing but conjectures, which amuse and deceive, can be offered on the subject.*

The distrusts of *Wolsey*, with respect to his own safety, increased in proportion as this great affair seemed to draw on to a conclusion. And now his bewildered imagination suggested an expedient, which hastened the Destruction he endeavoured to shun. He foresaw, that however the case in debate turned out, he was a lost man. If it failed of success, he would be reproached with having engaged his Prince in a pursuit, and wanting zeal or ability to extricate him. If the Divorce was obtained, he was threatened with an equal disaster from her elevation, on whom the King had fixed his future choice. In this perplexity he represented to *Henry*, in a long and earnest discourse, all the inconveniencies which were likely to attend the whole affair, and conjured him by every motive which the situation of his own concerns, and the King's honour and ease could furnish him with, to lay aside any further thought of it. *Henry* heard him with passion and disdain, and treated him in such a manner as confirmed all the misgivings of his own mind.

Campegio was now arrived, and had signified to the King, at a public Audience, the Pope's grateful

* Lord *Herbert*, in his Life of *Henry VIII.* mentions a very ancient copy of this Bull, by which the Pope obliges himself to ratify the sentence of his Legates, and to admit of no appeal from it. His Lordship owns, this copy may not be authentic, and that it is probable, the Pope granted something more. This is the conjecture of this Nobleman, which can never be verified. The stile in which the Pope, soon after, wrote to his Legates, is utterly inconsistent with such a concession. *Gardiner*, in his treatise *Of True Obedience*, where he omits nothing that can invalidate the papal authority, takes no notice of any such grant; nor is it mentioned by any of those Authors who wrote in favour of the Divorce, in 1530, and the two following years.

grateful sentiments of the good offices he had received from him in his late distress; and assured him, that, on all occasions, and particularly on that which was under deliberation, he should experience whatever a deserving Son could expect from an indulgent and liberal Father. -- But in their private conferences, he exhorted him, according to the instructions he had brought from *Rome*, to desist from the design of parting with the Queen; and represented the injury he would do to his reputation, the misfortunes that would ensue to the common cause of Christianity, the broils he must engage in with the Emperor, and the slender succour he could expect from *France*.

Though this remonstrance made no impression on *Henry*, yet no favour could be shewn him whilst the Queen persisted to demand justice: and his impatience, after several useless attempts to bring her into his measures, not allowing him to wait the sentence of the Legates, he sent Sir *Francis Bryant* and *Vannes* to *Rome*, who were followed soon after by the Doctors *Knight* and *Benet*. The Commission was as extraordinary as ever Agents were charged with: and mankind were informed from a King of *England*, if other examples had been wanting, how far the wildness of loose desire can transport a person, who thinks he may attempt whatever he imagines he can compass. Their instructions were to ask the Pope, as of their own motion, to permit the King to marry again, in case the Queen entered on a Monastic life; and to legitimate the offspring of both beds. If that was refused, then to desire him to approve the King's taking on him a religious profession, in order to induce the Queen to do the same; and when they had both made their vows, to dispense with *Henry*, and enable him to marry again.

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again. If this proposal was rejected, they were to make another; and petition that the King might have two Wives, of which there were several precedents under the *Levitical* Law; and that the children of each might be deemed lawfully begotten.---If the Pope disapproved of these overtures, they were instructed to mingle threats with their petitions; and insinuate, that his own election to the Papacy might be called in question, and the authority hitherto acknowledged in his See disowned.

The Pope replied, with no less temper than prudence, "that it would but ill become the King of *England* to rise up against that authority which he had supported by his own Writings; that if the Nation withdrew herself from the obedience of the Church; if she caused a Schism, or fell into Heresy, the King would be accountable, not he. That he had nothing to reproach himself with on that head; and having hitherto followed what duty prescribed, he would continue to do so."---He wrote to *Campegio*, soon after, "that though his good-will for the King was very sincere, yet he would not betray his conscience, or violate the laws of justice: That all the demands of this Prince were so unreasonable, that he could grant none of them, without giving the highest offence to the whole Christian World; and that the Emperor and King of *Hungary* insisted on the cause being tried at *Rome*, and that he found it difficult to deny so reasonable a request."

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, every thing in *England* seemed in readiness for the decision of the Cause. After several hearings, a Patent passed the Great Seal on the last of *May*, by which the King and Queen were summoned to appear before the Legates, on the eighteenth of the following month. In this interval, the Council for
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the King had alledged, at different sittings of the Court, every argument which subtilty could suggest, to prove the forgery of the Original of the Dispensation which the Queen had procured from *Spain*, and which was more ample than that, on which the Legates would have tried the Cause. The Managers for the Queen had not only replied to the objections, but had proved the piece to be genuine, with such evidence, and from so many circumstances, that the Judges, notwithstanding their willingness to please the King, did not think proper to give Sentence against it. They had recourse therefore to another expedient, which was to write privately to the Pope, that the affair might be decided at *Rome*, as the eminence of that Tribunal was best suited to its difficulty and importance.

In the mean while, the proceedings of the Court went on in their usual course; and, on the day appointed for the King's and Queen's appearance, the King's Council presented the letters of Attorney, by which they were impowered to act in his name. But the Queen, though she had named her Council, appeared in person, and having declared she could not acknowledge the Legates for her Judges, she required her protest should be registered: on which the Legates rose and adjourned the Court.

At the following sitting, the King and Queen 21st June. appeared both in person; and the King having answered to the citation, the Queen came from her seat, and casting herself at his feet, "besought him to have pity on her, and to do her justice: That she was a helpless woman, and a stranger, born out of his dominions, without friends or advisers: That she was ignorant in what she had offended him, and caused him to put her away. She called the supreme Being to witness, she had
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ever been a faithful and humble wife, always conforming herself to his will and pleasure, without gainsaying, or so much as showing a discontented countenance: she had loved those who loved him, whatever their dispositions were in her regard; she had borne him children, and been his wife twenty years: That she was a Virgin, when he took her to the marriage-bed, she appealed to God and his own conscience; and if the fact was otherwise, she was contented to be put from him with shame. The Kings their fathers, she said, were esteemed very wise Princes, and could not be so overseen in this match; and how came men to be now more learned and knowing than they had been in their days? That it must seem strange to her, to have her marriage called in question after so many years, and such artifice used against one whose intentions had always been upright. Alas! Sir, said she, I am wronged, and have no Council to speak for me, but such as are your subjects: I humbly beseech you to stay these Proceedings till I have advice from *Spain*; if not, your Grace's pleasure be done." Having said this, and made a low obeisance, she went out of the Court, and, though called upon, refused to return.

The King seemed almost as much affected by her speech as any of those who were present, and declared, "he had no reason to complain of her; that her Virtue could not be sufficiently commended; and that he would be contented to live on with her, if his conscience allowed him so to do." But notwithstanding this declaration in her favour, his Proceedings against her were not less iniquitous. Her actions were pryed into, and construed with malignity; and a long and lying memorial of her misdemeanors was drawn up by the Council, which concluded by humbly intreat-
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ing his Majesty to have no further intercourse with her, and to forbid the Princess her daughter to see her. It may be presumed, that Princes and their Ministers can stand in need of nothing more to deter them from actions so unworthy their high stations, than their own feelings with respect to those who have been guilty of them, and the assurance, that impartial posterity will judge them with the same rigour. SECT. I.

Whilst these measures were taking to intimidate the Queen, the Legates employed intreaties and remonstrances to gain her. On one of these visits, being at work with her women, “she thanked them for their good-will, and said, she would give them a hearing, though she imagined they came on a business, which required much deliberation, and a brain stronger than hers. You see, says she, my employment (and shewed them a skain of thread about her neck) in this I spend my time with my maids, who indeed are none of the ablest Counsellors; yet I have no other in *England*; and *Spain*, where there are, on whom I could rely, God knows, is far off.” She then repeated the substance of what she had said in Court, and added, that those facts were sufficient Vouchers of the lawfulness of her marriage, and her own uprightness, if any thing could be so against the blast of malice. ----- Then addressing herself to *Wolsey*, “I can impute, said she, my misfortunes to none but you, my Lord of *York*. I now suffer because I could not away with your pride, your riot, whoredom and oppressions. For part of your hatred I am beholden to my nephew the Emperor; whom, because he would not satisfy your insatiable ambition in advancing you to the Papacy, you have ever since sought to despise. You threatened to be revenged on him and his friends, and you have performed your promise.”

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promise. You have been the only incendiary and plotter of all the mischief and wars against him these late years; and at present you wreak your vengeance on me for being his Aunt. God only knows, my Lord Cardinal, how much I suffer, he will be your Judge and mine."--- *Wolsey* being about to reply, she would not hear him; and though she behaved to *Campegio* with great civility, yet she declared she acknowledged neither of them for her Judges; persisted in her appeal; and from that time, though often cited, she appeared no more in the Court.

The Sittings still continuing, the Witnesses, who were about seven and twenty, were examined. They had been garbled chiefly out of the kinsmen or creatures of the King and Mrs *Anne Bullen*. The facts to which they deposed, were the age of Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catharine*, at their marriage; the consummation of the marriage; and *Henry's* Protest, in his father's life-time, against his affiance with the Queen.

17th July. The depositions being heard, the nullity of the papal Dispensation was insisted on; but the Legates, not judging the proofs sufficient, came to

23d July. no resolution. At the last hearing, when the Court was thronged, and every one big with expectation of the sentence, to which they were persuaded the Judges would now proceed, *Campegio*, who all along had acted as Chief in the whole Commission, prorogued the Court to the month of *October*. The reasons he assigned for so doing, were the Queen's refusal to have the cause tried in *England*, and to acknowledge the Legates for her Judges: the necessary time required to revise the Depositions: and the Rules of the *Roman* Court of Judicature, to which he was obliged to conform: and he affirmed, on his character, what he said to be true. Soon after this

this declaration, the Pope notified to the Legates, that he had ordered the Cause to be tried at *Rome*, and cited the King and Queen to appear there: on which information the Legantine Court was dissolved, and *Campegio* set out for *Italy*.

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REGINALD POLE had been no otherwise concerned in these transactions, than his regard for the King, and the common cause of his Country's welfare, engaged his disapprobation of them. The reasons already mentioned exempted him from any necessity of appearing in them; and a distant habitation from the Court, which the foresight of these broils had caused him to make choice of, together with a temper which sought retirement, when duty did not call him forth to action, had, from any thing that appears, kept him hitherto clear of an affair, with which the Public was now intirely taken up. He had passed two years at *Shene*, in as great tranquillity as the crisis would admit, and had employed them to those purposes which might enable him to serve his Country with success. Being sensible however, that he should be no longer indulged in this neutral state, than the King's capriciousness, or the suggestion of a Favourite, did not find some pretext to make him a party in what was now become a general debate, he thought of withdrawing himself at a greater distance from Proceedings, the consequences of which he might shun, though he could not prevent. As the Courts of *England* and *France* were now in the strictest amity, the jealous temper of his Prince was likely to take less umbrage at his going, for a time, to that kingdom, than to any other. He entered on this measure with such circumspection, as not to incur any abatement of the King's good-will; and having signified an inclination to visit the University of *Paris*, which he had not yet seen, *Henry*, though at first he

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shewed an unwillingness, yet afterwards he granted his request with a good grace, and continued the former marks of his bounty, which he had conferred on him during his stay at *Padua*.

4th Octo-
ber, 1529.

The *French* Ambassador, *Bellay*, notified REGINALD's journey to his Court in the most honourable terms; and informed the Count of *Montmorency*, the high Steward, "that this young Nobleman was nearly related to the King, and one of the most learned personages of the age: That his view was to see *France*, and continue his studies: That *Henry* had ordered him to pay his respects to the King; and that his Family, who were persons of great merit and the first quality, desired he might be particularly recommended to him." The manner in which he mentions the officers of REGINALD's household, shews that he lived not with dignity only, but splendor.

The Divorce being now before that Tribunal, to which all causes of such importance were wont to be referred, nothing more was to be done but to wait the decision. The King however, foreseeing the little prospect of success, gave a fresh instance of that insincerity with which he had all along acted. He imagined a pecuniary influence might purchase of the Schools what it had failed of at the Court of *Rome*; and sent his Agents to have the opinion of the most celebrated Universities, that is, to buy their votes. In his own dominions, his inclinations were supported by rewards and hopes of preferment; by the known violence of his humour, and a kind of despotism, of which, like an eastern Monarch, he had now possessed himself: and, in foreign countries, by large sums, which were employed to prevail on those who preferred lucre to honour and conscience. Several particulars of this venal prostitution have been transmitted down, in so shameful

ful and ridiculous a detail, as to raise both indignation and laughter. --- Nor was the question to be submitted to the examination of Catholic Divines only: the Protestant Doctors of *Germany* were likewise to be consulted; and it must be acknowledged, to their honour, "that though political reasons might have biased them towards a compliance to the King of *England* and his Mistress, who was suspected to be a *Lutheran*, yet they chose to act uprightly, and give their real sentiments, though in favour of a Prince (*Charles V.*) who was their adversary *."

This irregularity of *Henry's* proceeding gave great offence to the judicious of those times, as it not only transferred one of those causes, whose decision the common consent of the Christian world had reserved to the See of *Rome*, to the wranglings and uncertainties of the Schools; but because it corrupted the principles of those places, from whence both the civil and sacred Magistrate is taken, and taught them to look on Genius and Learning as lucrative ware, and a means not to instruct mankind, but mislead them †.

The reputation of the University of *Paris* was very high; and *Henry* was particularly desirous it should declare for the Divorce; and his Kinsman being there, he sent him orders to consult the Doctors, and use his best endeavours to interest them in his favour. What his sentiments were on receiving this commission, and in what manner he executed it, we learn from an account of his whole conduct in this affair, which he wrote some years after to the King, when She, on whose account he now moved heaven and earth, had finished her life on a scaffold; and he had broken through every restraint which could withstand any

F 2

of

* *Larrey Hist. Angl* l. 2. p. 295.

† *Apolog. brev. pro R. Catharina; Lunebourg, 1532.*

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of his appetites. --- He begins with observing, “that the aversion which the King’s subjects had to these measures, was greater than that of Foreigners, as their affection to him was more sincere; and they more grieved to have such instances of obedience exacted of them, as could not be submitted to but with the highest dishonour. Amongst these, says he, I may very well rank myself, and call God to witness, I never received so sensible a stroke as from the disgraceful commission sent me when I was at *Paris*; especially as I had retired thither, that I might have no share in deliberations which were carrying on against the King’s honour and interest, within his own palace, under his directions, and by his authority.”--- He says, “he had vainly hoped, that the decency which the King owed himself, would not have suffered him to allow strangers to meddle in a concern which ought never to have come to their cognifance.”--- That as soon as the trouble he was in would permit him, he excused himself on account of want of experience, and begged that some person, more conversant in the question, might be intrusted with it.--- That the King immediately complied with his desire; and, if he had not, there was no kind of death which would not have been more welcome to him than such an employment. That he never took it on himself, though for a time he suffered the Proceedings to go on in his name, as there was another joined in the Commission, who did all the business, of which he had declared he had not a competent knowledge. That he might with truth plead this excuse; not indeed from any ignorance of the case, but because the clearer insight he had of it, the less he knew how to act as he was desired.”

He then goes on to shew, “how inexcusable the King was in pretending that a dispensation to marry

marry his brother's Widow was invalid, at the same time that he was suing for one, which would enable him to marry a person, whose sister he had corrupted, provided the nullity of his former marriage could be proved." This he advances, in a Treatise inscribed to the King, and delivered to him on the part of the noble Author, by one of his Gentlemen. He asserts it as a known truth; and indeed, had such an imputation been slander, or even of doubtful report, it would have been utterly unworthy and inconsistent with his character who relates it; and must have raised the clamour, not only of the *English*, but of all Foreigners against him. It ought at the same time to be remarked, that as he gives not the least insinuation of any looseness of behaviour in *Anne Bullen*, before *Henry's* passion for her, or of a criminal commerce between her mother and the King, of which she has been said to be the fruit, these reports are to be looked on as destitute of foundation. Had the facts been real, they would not have escaped the knowledge of one so well informed; nor been overlooked in a work, where every aggravation which regards this article, is set forth in all its iniquity, and heightened with all the colouring that Indignation and Eloquence can give. All he says of her amounts to a sarcasm, "that she must needs be chaste, as she chose to be the King's Wife, rather than his Mistress; but that she might have learnt how soon he was sated with those who had belonged to him in the latter quality; and, if other examples were wanting, that of her own sister was enough *."

F 3

In

* Concubina enim tua fieri pudica mulier nolebat, uxor volebat: Didicerat, opinor, si nullâ aliâ ex re, vel Sororis suæ exemplo, quàm cito te concubinarum tuarum satietas caperet.

In another place of the same Work, having expostulated with him for admitting her into the palace, and to still more intimate familiarities, whilst the cause of his Divorce from the Queen was yet undecided; he upbraids him with want of the common feelings of humanity, in depriving his Daughter of her right to succession; and calls up the Ghost of *Henry VII.* his father, to contemplate with horror this unnatural behaviour in his son; especially as that Prince, in order to secure this succession, had put to death a most innocent young man, the Earl of *Warwick*, REGINALD POLE's uncle, and nephew to *Edward* the Fourth. "O! says he, could he but return to life, and see me, who am descended of the same family, from which he feared a competitor, support the rights of his posterity, which you, his son, overthrow *."

In this light did he consider the Divorce, which was then the theme of all *Europe*. He received the person who came over to act in conjunction with him, and who was one of the Council, with great courtesy, lodged him in his own house, and excusing himself, as has been said, from acting in the affair on which he came, he left the whole management of it to him. A year passed in this manner, when he had intelligence from his family, that his return to *England* was necessary, in order to remove all suspicion of his dislike to a design, on which the King was now wholly bent, which his declining to interfere in it might occasion. He acquiesced in their advice, and being

Oct. 1530.

came back to his country, again chose the retirement of Dean *Colet's* house at *Shene*.

Nov. 29.

About this time Cardinal *Wolsey* ended a life, which was become an object of compassion even to envy and jealousy, if those passions were capable

* *Reg. Polus*, de Unit. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

ble of relenting. During the last year of it, he had experienced an ebb of fortune, which at length left him, by as complete a desertion as any of her undeserving favourites had ever been reduced to. And Ambition, which makes her votaries not less servile and complying, than proud and arrogant, shewed him as mean in his disgrace, as he had been insolent in prosperity. The Great Seal, and all other posts of honour and profit, being taken from him, and all his effects seized, the most powerful and opulent subject in *Europe* must have perished through want, had not a few well-disposed persons, when interest had called off all her mercenary train, relieved him. The King, at different intervals of his Minister's disgrace, had shewn him some faint gleams of returning favour: but they were always succeeded by greater hardships; and he and the *Bullen* party seemed resolved, that this victim of their several resentments should bleed at every pore, and agonise not only in expiring, but at every symptom which brought on his dissolution. Overcome at last by ill treatment, and the apprehensions of worse, he died on the road from *Cawood-Castle*, a seat belonging to the Bishop of *York*, whither the Earl of *Northumberland* was sent to bring him up to *London*. His faithful domestic, *Cavendish*, has given an account of the penitential sentiments, in which he passed the last months of a long and worldly life; and of that memorable saying; "that if he had served his Maker with the same fidelity as he had his Prince, he should not have been forsaken in his gray hairs: but that his disgraces were just, for having made greater account of the King's favour, than of the duty he owed his God." A moral which we should rather learn from the experience of others, than teach by our own.

SECT. I. The See of *York* being vacated by the death of the Cardinal, gave **REGINALD** an opportunity of displaying a greatness of soul, more remarkable even than the arrogance of him who lately possessed it. It had been represented to the King, that, notwithstanding his Kinsman's youth, the character he had for learning, prudence and integrity, was such, that the chief of the Nobility would be greatly swayed, either for or against the Divorce, as he should declare himself. On this, *Henry* engaged some of his relations, and other persons of the Court, to persuade him to a compliance; and, at the same time, proposed a reward which he judged adequate to the service. His brothers were the most importunate with him to give this satisfaction to his Prince, who had hitherto been at the whole charge of his education; a distinction with which he had favoured no other of the Nobles; and had likewise bestowed on him so many instances of Royal bounty: and they represented to him, that his silence would involve himself and them in inevitable ruin. The Duke of *Norfolk*, a few days after Cardinal *Wolsey's* death, was sent by the King to let him know, that he had a long time intended to raise him to an eminent dignity in the Church, and at present an opportunity offered itself, by the vacancy of the See of *York*, to which he designed to promote him; and had no other objection, than the uncertainty of his dispositions with respect to the Divorce, as he should be unwilling to place one in that high station who would oppose it. **REGINALD** answered, he could not sufficiently acknowledge the King's goodness, and should think himself honoured enough, in whatever condition, provided he was allowed to promote his Prince's real interests; but, that prospect lost, no advancement, however conspicuous, could be agreeable to

to him : and as he did not well see how he could
cabinet the Divorce, and, at the same time, act a
becoming part with respect to his duty to the
King, he rather chose to be deprived of that mark
of his favour, than accept of it on such terms.

The Duke testified great displeasure at this
Discourse; and having spoken much in defence
of the Divorce, he said, he would lay aside the
character of a Messenger sent by the King, and
talk to him as a Friend. He then reasoned on
the present state of his affairs; and on the incon-
veniencies to which he exposed himself, by refus-
ing the King's liberality, and giving his negative
to a cause which had many Defenders; and as
yet had received no legal condemnation. That
though he might think it a point of duty not to
give his assent, yet it did but ill agree with the
respect and good-will he bore his Benefactor, to
prejudice his suit by this proceeding: That he
might return a more moderate answer, and satisfy
at once both the King and his own conscience.
He therefore advised him neither to dissemble his
doubts concerning what was required of him, nor
refuse the offer of the See of *York*; but, as his
compliance was the condition on which it was to
be conferred, to desire some time to deliberate
and resolve on the whole affair. The Duke
added, he made no doubt but the request would
be granted, and undertook himself to obtain it.
REGINALD approved of the advice, and desired
him to effect it, which he did by obtaining a
month's delay.

Those who interested themselves in his prefer-
ment, were no sooner acquainted with this trans-
action, but they employed every art to stagger
his resolution; and as they knew how little he
was affected by those arguments, which to others
appear irresistible, they applied such as were more
nearly

SECT. nearly allied to his own dispositions. They urged, **I.** he was not to consider how he could serve the King in an affair, which, whether justifiable or not, was already determined; but the prospect he had of being useful to his Majesty and the whole Nation, on so many other occasions: That if he really felt the zeal he professed for his Sovereign, he would comply with him in this single instance, in which, if there was any thing wrong, his credit and favour would afterwards afford him an opportunity to rectify; and though the course he steered was oblique, it would equally bring him into the Port. --- The King likewise, during this interval, pleased with the hopes of gaining a Profelyte of such importance, was more than usually gracious to him, and shewed by his whole behaviour how much he desired his Kinsman's approbation.

Though the instances of his friends had not their full effect, yet the assaults were so frequent, that he yielded at length to their importunity; and when the term prefixed for declaring himself was elapsed, he told his brother, Lord *Montague*, and Dr *Fox*, who came to him on the King's part, that he would satisfy him. This assurance was so agreeable to *Henry*, that, being informed of his coming, he went to meet him in a private *Whitehall* gallery of *York* palace, that he might have the pleasure of receiving it from his own mouth. But he had scarcely begun to speak, when his tongue faltered, his memory failed him, and he found himself unable either to utter, or call to mind any thing he came prepared to say. He attributes this unexpected change to the influence of the King's presence, and says, that as soon as he saw him coming towards him, he was seized with so lively an apprehension of all the disgrace and evils which would attend the Divorce, that he

he could in no wise prevail on himself to countenance so pernicious and fatal a measure, and betray one, whom of all men he most loved and valued. Having recollected himself, he entered on a discourse intirely different from what he had thought on before, and exposed to the King, with a most ingenuous freedom, the guilt and consequences of the step he meditated. Henry heard him with all the emotions of rage and disappointment, often putting his hand to the dagger which hung at his belt; and hindered by nothing, but the modest intrepidity of the Speaker, from imbruing it in his blood. But as he was about to soften the liberty he had taken, though so becoming his high rank, his personal integrity, and the ancient spirit of the country which gave him birth, the King bore with him no longer; and having testified his resentment both by looks and gestures, and shutting the door with violence against him, he left REGINALD in tears, and retired abruptly into the next apartment, where he remained some time alone *. He attests these particulars in so solemn a manner, that no reasonable person can call them in question, and yet says, he does not desire to be credited, unless the whole tenor of his life bore witness to his veracity †. --- He observes, on this occasion, that he had given his Prince a pledge of Loyalty and Affection,

* Bishop *Burnet* treats this conference between the King and REGINALD POLE, and what happened at it, "as a romantic adventure, invented by *Sanders* to set off his Hero, and mentioned by no cotemporary Writer." It is however related by both the Authors of his Life, who were his Secretaries, and by Himself, in his Letters to *Edward VI.* and to the Parliament.

† Testor tribunal Dei, apud quem, si falsa dico, reum me æternæ poenæ judico. Epist. *Poli* ad Parliamentum.

Sed neque de hoc, neque de aliis mihi fidem adhiberi pos-
tulo, nisi reliquæ meæ omnes actiones, quæ in hunc usque diem
sunt secutæ, idem semper testimonium præbuerunt. *Ibid.*

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section, of all others the least equivocal, in resigning all hopes of advancement in his country, and refusing one of the highest posts, rather than assent to what was against his honour and interest. — At the same time he acknowledges, the insufficiency of the King's reasons for the Divorce, that the wickedness of his purposes ought to have withheld him from paying any deference to the remonstrances of his friends and family; and that he had greatly erred, in vainly pretending, in contradiction to his own better knowledge, to reconcile such unwarrantable measures with a discharge of duty.

An affair of this nature could not long be a secret to the Public, and the surprise and disappointment it caused to his Friends was answerable to the expectations they had conceived from a contrary behaviour. As to himself, though he was conscious of having acted that part which alone became him, yet he felt the uneasiness of his Prince's displeasure; and having deliberated on a proper method to remove it, he thought it most adviseable to send him his reasons in writing, with an assurance, which he knew would be acceptable, that the purport of the letter had been communicated to nobody. The Duke of *Norfolk* had some intimation of this letter, and suspecting, what was fact, that he had justified his late behaviour, was highly offended. He complained to Lord *Montague*, that his brother, not contented with having insulted his Sovereign to his face, had now added the outrage of doing it by writing. Lord *Montague* reported this to REGINALD, who replied, that he had written, indeed, but in a strain so very different from what the Duke imagined, that he was persuaded, if the King vouchsafed to read the letter, he would be appeased; and that his brother might satisfy himself in this point, by only reporting

reporting to his Majesty the particulars of the discourse which then passed between them. He accordingly waited on the King, who, having heard the message he came on, stopped, some time, in a thoughtful posture (for he was walking) and then taking two or three steps, "your brother, says he, has rightly guessed my dispositions, and has given me such good reasons for behaving as he did, and with such a signification of duty and affection, that I am under a necessity of taking all he wrote in good part; and could he but gain on himself to approve of my separation from the Queen, no one would be dearer to me."

Another of those events, of which the times were so fruitful, gave REGINALD a fresh opportunity of testifying his steadiness, though at the risk of forfeiting the remains of his Sovereign's favour, which his persisting to disapprove the Divorce had already greatly abated. The King, on *Wolsey's* disgrace, had seized on his wealth, which was very great, and caused him to be declared liable to the penalties incurred, in certain cases, by appealing to the See of *Rome*, or by the exercise of any power or authority delegated from her. *Wolsey* had in vain pleaded the King's permission, and that the grant had passed the great Seal. The Clergy and the Commons having had recourse to the Legate's Court, were likewise subjected to the same Statutes: and thus, the far greater part of the Chattels and Lands of *England*, by whatever tenure held, became forfeited to the Crown. It was to no purpose to allege, besides the Letters patent, that *Wolsey's* power could not safely have been opposed: the King insisted on what the Law, interpreted to his own purposes, was made to decree; and could he have given his Subjects what *Caligula* wished to the Romans,

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Romans, but one Neck, he would have threatened to strike it off at a blow.

About the same time, several new laws concerning the Clergy were made, and old ones enforced. They were, in general, both reasonable and salutary, but so timed, and passed in such a manner, as too plainly shewed a spleen to their persons, rather than a zeal for the reformation of their manners. Some warm debates had happened in both Houses on these proceedings, and some of the Members had let fall expressions which bespoke a tendency to the opinions which were afterwards introduced. *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, replied to these Innovators, and, like another *Micaiah*, foretold the evils which then impended, and were, soon after, to involve himself and so many others. His discourse displeased those who thought themselves censured by it, and they moved to have him sent to the Tower; but he, with his usual intrepidity, reminded them of the *Bohemians*, who were not yet recovered of a civil war of above a hundred years, which the like changes in religion had caused, and which had swept away Millions. Though this answer did not satisfy those who complained of him, they were obliged to put up with it, and nothing more was then said on the subject: but *Cromwell* is reported, on this occasion, to have uttered a blasphemy, which I dare not repeat.

The Clergy having, as has been said, incurred a Premunire, and being exposed to the envy of a Court faction, were now at the King's mercy; and having offered an enormous sum, by way of composition, *Cromwell* informed the Convocation, that no composition would be accepted, unless the King was acknowledged Supreme Head and Protector of the Clergy and Church of *England*. The novelty of the claim, and its repugnance to the

the sense of all Antiquity, caused it, at first, to be rejected. Soon after it was admitted, with a clause, by which the Prelates declared they allowed of it, as far as it was consistent with the Law of God: but the King insisting on a more explicit acknowledgement, this modification was left out; and that assent given, which Despotism, armed with Terror, extorts.

In this transaction, the cases to which this new jurisdiction extended were not specified; nor even what was to be understood by it. All mention of the Pope had been avoided; the cause of the Divorce still continued to be pleaded before him; recourse was had to him in other concerns, on the King's part, and in the usual form; and though the *English* Agents returned the condescension and favour which was shewn them, with perverseness and insolence, yet the King forbore coming to an open rupture. The submission which he had lately exacted from the Clergy, was only an essay towards what he effected two years after, 1533, when the Pope's supremacy was entirely abolished, and a power usurped by *Henry* of laying waste that fair Edifice, which, like all others throughout the Christian world, had been founded by the divine Lawgiver, on the preeminence of that See, *St Matt.* and had rested on it, in this kingdom, since its chap. 16. first establishment, during nine hundred years. This Lay Headship, in the most explicit and universal sense, passed then into a Law, by the advice of a Minister, to whom the exercise of it was delegated; and, by the same Adviser, an oath and statute were framed for that purpose.

The Clergy's composition being accepted on these terms, the Commons were afraid they should be under a necessity of purchasing theirs at as high a price; and complaints being made on this head, the King let them know, in an angry tone, that

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that he was master of his own favours, and would distribute them in what measure he thought fit. He passed, however, an Act of Grace in their favour, which together with that granted to the Clergy, was ratified by the Parliament.

Though REGINALD, in quality of Dean of *Exeter*, sat in the lower house of Convocation, he had no part in the Act by which the King was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, nor did he ever consent to it. He was present, as he informs us, when the Clergy's composition was refused on their not admitting that Title, but not when they agreed to it*. He has not informed us of the reasons of his conduct in this particular, or how he came to be absent at so critical a juncture, from an Assembly to which he belonged in his spiritual capacity, and where his rank, parts, and character must have made him the chief

* *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, l. 1. c. 7. et l. 3. c. 3.

Notwithstanding this assertion, Bishop *Burnet* says, he makes no doubt but REGINALD subscribed to the title of Supremacy: the only reason he assigns for this certainty is, that he was then Dean of *Exeter*, and, in that quality, sat in the lower House of Convocation. This, sure, can have little weight against what he says of himself, in a Work addressed, a few years after, to the King himself, who must have known how the fact was. Nor would those who wrote against His Treatise on the Supremacy, have failed to retaliate, in case he had agreed to it, that he then opposed what he had so lately approved. The Bishop, indeed, a few lines lower, destroys his own argument, weak as it is, by owning, that, before the Reformation, there is nothing certain concerning the method of proceeding in the Convocation, and that he is of opinion, the Deans sat in the Upper House, after having told us, that REGINALD, in that capacity, belonged to the Lower. It is no wonder that *Rapin*, *Larrey*, and others, who copy Dr *Burnet*, should have translated this slander: but it seems something extraordinary that an assertion, in which REGINALD's character is so much interested, should have escaped the notice of *Bossuet*, *Le Grand*, and *Niceron*, who are very accurate in remarking the Bishop's mistakes. *Fleury's* Continuator repeats it almost in *Burnet's* words, l. 107.

chief personage. His late disinterested and intrepid behaviour in the affair of the Divorce, is a sufficient warrant that no unbecoming motive regulated his conduct in this: and, if conjecture, of which I choose to be sparing, may have place, it is not improbable that this absence was occasioned by circumstances, which, though unknown to us, exempted him from giving his Prince the uneasiness of an open, and, at the same time, fruitless opposition.

Though the King had not yet withdrawn his favour from him, it was considerably abated; and the Courtiers, who regulate their behaviour by their Prince's dispositions, began to be less assiduous in the regards they had hitherto shewn him. It does not appear, however, that this change had any share in the resolution he took soon after, of retiring a second time from *England*. This was wholly owing to the character of the Minister, to whom *Henry*, after *Wolfey's* disgrace, had given all his confidence; and in whose measures he already foresaw whatever the abuse of power could effect. This prospect, he says, cautioned him to leave, a second time, a hostile land, and forego the tenderness of a Parent, his family connections, which were very considerable; all hopes of rising to employments answerable to his birth and great attainments; and every consideration which can endear a Son, a Brother, and an *English* Nobleman to his country.

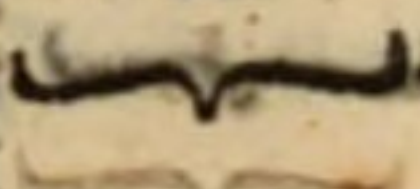
The Reader has, in another place, been informed from REGINALD's relation, of the sentiments in which *Cromwell* endeavoured to initiate him on his first coming from the University of *Padua*, and the manner in which he then laid himself open to him: and the following account from the same unexceptionable Voucher discloses every thing which can contribute to a complete

SECT. 3 knowledge of His character, by whose counsels
I. *England* was solely governed almost eleven years.

The Remonstrances which *Wolsey*, as has been said, made to *Henry*, though ill received at the time, had made an impression: they had been seconded by the advice of *Campegio*; and what passed between the King and *REGINALD* had added weight to all the rest. The delays of the Court of *Rome*, together with the great and various inconveniencies which would attend the Divorce, which his own apprehensions suggested, began to stagger his resolution in the prosecution of it. A ray of light had, at length, pierced the chaos of passion, which had so long overspread his mind, and let him see at once the guilt and danger he was engaged in. He did not conceal the trouble he was under, nor the thoughts he had of easing himself of it: and fetching a deep sigh before several of the Court, as *REGINALD POLE* relates from one who was present, he said; “that since the See of *Rome*, contrary to his expectations, persisted in refusing to consent to the Divorce, he would no longer contend with her, but give up all further thoughts of it.” This declaration was received with singular joy and applause by all who heard it, and the King continued, some days, though not resolved, yet conscious what part he ought to act. In this suspense *Cromwell* had access to him, and beginning “by the general concern of the Nation for the inquietude he laboured under, and how much the public welfare was interested in their Prince’s tranquillity, he said, it was the duty of every loyal and affectionate Subject to contribute to it in the best manner he was able; and that this disposition had prompted him, however unworthy to be admitted to his Sovereign’s counsels, to lay before him what he had long meditated on the great ob-
ject

ject then under consideration."--Being commend-
 ed for his zeal, and encouraged to deliver his sen-
 timents with full liberty, he did it in the follow-
 ing manner. "And lest any one should imagine,
 says the noble Relater, that I have adapted a dis-
 course to the character of the person, I declare,
 with the strictest regard to truth, that I have only
 thrown together, either what, on different occa-
 sions, I have heard from himself, or learnt from
 those who were privy to all his designs, and have
 unquestionable proofs of every thing I set down.
 He insinuated to the King, at seasonable inter-
 vals, "that he might, with great emolument of
 power, profit, and honour, not only extricate him-
 self from those difficulties which then opposed his
 desires, but secure his future life from all such
 opposition; especially on the part of his Subjects,
 who, by this means, would be taught to fear, not
 awe their Sovereign. --- And, indeed, unless this
 point was gained, in what was his situation pre-
 ferable to a private fortune? that, several persons,
 though subject to laws and the command of Kings,
 were so far from being deprived of this privilege,
 that they enjoyed it with great security, however
 contrary it might seem to those ordinances. Shall
 a Prince, therefore, whose condition places him
 above such restraints, stand in such dread of them,
 when his happiness is at stake, and be ill at ease,
 when those, to whom he was born to prescribe,
 were free to act as they pleased? --- That this
 manner of reasoning proceeded from the timidity
 of those who advised it: or from a still more si-
 nister motive of levelling the condition of Kings
 with that of their people, and not acknowledging
 that their conduct was regulated by maxims very
 different from those of the rest of mankind; which
 was, in effect, to consult not the King's but the
 Peoples advantage, whose interest it was that their

Rulers should be tied down by the same obligations which bind themselves. --- He did not advance this with a design that the King should be induced to any thing contrary to rectitude, which he knew was far from his princely mind; but that he should not permit himself to be too straitly confined by rules, which only serve for matter of wrangle to Schoolmen. They, he confessed, had lain it down as a principle, that what is right has its origin in the nature of things, from which neither King nor Subject are allowed to depart, and which no power can either change or antiquate. --- That their error consisted in imposing the same obligations on persons, whose condition was disparate; and they had gained so far by their subtilties, as to subject Princes to those forms, to which they thought fit to confine their notions of right and wrong; whereas experience, a more knowing mistress, admitted a much greater latitude, and taught, that those notions might undergo the same revolutions to which others have been subject. That, if Rectitude had a fixed principle in nature, it would not vary so often amongst those who are guided by her dictates; nor what was called Right in one nation, go under the opposite denomination in another; and what has been dishonourable in certain times and circumstances, be reputable in others. --- Having exemplified this in several instances, he draws this inference; that if the nature of Rectitude was variable, none, sure, had a better title to change it than Kings, whose prerogative it was to have the very Laws derive their force and stability from their Will. --- What he advanced, however, was with no view to the debate in question, concerning which there was no cause to recede from received opinions. The Law of God, which forbade marriage with a brother's Widow, and the decisions

decisions of the Universities having declared in S. E. C. 2
 his favour, what further room could there be for I. 2
 doubting or disputing about what was right? 

His meaning was, that if, hereafter, the King's inclination should lead him to depart from the notions of the ordinary world, he should persuade himself, the People had no title to pass sentence on the actions of their Sovereign; nor did it become the Sovereign to pay any such deference to those, who were to look on his will as law. In the present case, the divine Law so evidently agreed with his desires, that no punishment could be too rigorous for those who withstood it. ---

But if any foreign authority interposed, particularly that of the Bishop of *Rome*, who was wont to arrogate such Causes to his Court of Judicature, he did not deny but all means should be tried to obtain a favourable sentence from him, as it would be of great use against that Prince's complaints, who would think himself personally injured by the Divorce: Yet if the *Roman* Pontiff, out of consideration to the Emperor, obstinately persisted to refuse the King's just demands, instead of apprehending his judgment, he had a fair opportunity of freeing himself and his Kingdom from the slavery of a foreign yoke. --- That this yoke which the Pope had lain on the necks of Kings and States was grievous, and he wondered they did not consider it in the same light with the *German* Princes, and, like them, shake it off. --- They had felt no inconvenience from such a conduct, but great increase of wealth and power; and, if he followed their example, who would enjoy so great a share of these advantages as himself? ----- By assuming the Supremacy of the Church in his own dominions, which was due to him, and could not, without manifold detriment to the Realm, be allowed to any foreign power,

SECT. I. he would surpass all his Ancestors in every princely prerogative. ---- To whom could the Title of Head of a Kingdom so properly belong as to the King? that two Heads in the same state was a prodigy; the fiction of Priestcraft, to subtract the Clergy from the jurisdiction of the Prince. He should therefore reinstate himself in what they had fraudulently usurped; and, by this means, add a new lustre to the crown, and be King in a far more extensive sense than his Forefathers. And here, said REGINALD, having, as it were, transported him to the pinnacle of the Temple, from whence he might survey the Church's fair possessions, the Religious houses, which were numerous and opulent, the Bishopricks, and the whole Patrimony of the Clergy, he told him, all these were his, on the easy condition of declaring himself what he really was, the Head of the Church, and causing that Title to be confirmed by the supreme Council of the Nation. That this would be no difficult matter, if he chose skilful managers, and observed a precaution necessary in the beginning of all such undertakings, to exact compliance, under the severest penalties; and spared none who dared to transgress. ---- He advised him, therefore, to brand with a particular infamy all those, who, either by word or writing, opposed his Supremacy; as no Treason could be higher, or more injurious to his person and prerogative, than to acknowledge that authority in a foreign power. He had, consequently, nothing more to do, but to assert a claim, inherent to the regal Dignity, and thus establish a reputation superior to the Kings his Predecessors, who either had not seen how much their majesty was impaired by submitting to the Papal jurisdiction; or, if they saw it, were at a loss how to rid themselves of it. ---- They, he owned, being taken up with foreign

foreign wars and foreign conquests, had given little heed to those domestic enemies, who, under the appearance of Religion, sapped the foundation of Government; and considering in a hostile light those only who opposed them with open force, had overlooked such as attacked them by stratagem: That this had been the work of the Bishops of *Rome*. But now, a perfect tranquillity at home and abroad, afforded him a favourable circumstance of recovering what usurpation had so long withheld; of obtaining the desired object of his choice and affection; and increasing both his wealth and power: and if there remained any further obstacles, he need not doubt but time and opportunity would remove them. But that, at all hazards, the Supremacy, in all its latitude, was to be secured; and by this means true Sovereignty ascertained to himself and his successors, and a lasting monument left of his own wisdom *."

REGINALD observes, that it would have been difficult for the most consummate cunning to have proposed a more ensnaring system; and that it was listened to with a willing ear by him, whose passions were prepared to receive it. Ambition, Avarice, Lust, Revenge, the inseparable inmates of the breasts of Tyrants; and the use even of that authority which was so much exploded in the yet acknowledged Head of the Church, were too successfully applied to transfer it elsewhere. Nay, says he, the semblance of reason was so plausible, that some of my acquaintance, who had a reputation for prudence, and had hitherto condemned the King's designs, were prevailed on to approve them. As for the Adviser, he was honoured with the King's intire confidence, became his chief Counsellor, and was invested with a power suitable to the plan he was to execute.

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* Apol. Reg. Poli ad Carolum Imp. § 27. et seq.

SECT.

I.

Some time before, on *Wolsey's* disgrace, whose creature and chief agent he had been, the people, who were acquainted with his abilities for villany, had doomed him to the gallows, and no one doubted of his being already in chains and a dungeon †. Their surprise and sorrow were the greater when they saw him at the helm, and the King's Vicar-general in his new capacity of Head of the Church; a name which hitherto had been unknown in the list of the great Officers of the Crown, no less than the title, by virtue of which it was conferred, to the claims of our Sovereigns.

This description of *Cromwell* is given by REGINALD POLE, whom veracity, and the opportunities he had of being acquainted with him, must place above all suspicion of being either a stranger to his person and character, or of misrepresenting it. He inserted this account in the *Apology* he wrote for himself, to *Charles V.* five years after his leaving *England*, and three before that Minister was beheaded; who, at this time, like the destroying Angel, was laying his country waste, and making it one continued scene of rapine, sacrilege, oppression, and bloodshed.

Il Principe.

“The plan he proposed to the King, continues the same noble Relater, was drawn from *Machiavel's* treatise *On the Art of Government*, which I have already quoted; and being at *Florence*, last winter, I was desirous to be informed of the occasion on which the book was written, and the Author's intention in writing it, and at the same time made no secret of what I thought of the performance. Those with whom I conversed on the

† Ut inter intimos et primarios Consiliarios cognosceretur ille, quem populus paulo antè ad furcam poscebat, atque in carcerem atque vincula conjectum fuisse nemo dubitabat. Hæc enim communis vox omnium erat. *Ibid.*

the subject, returned me the answer which the Writer is reported to have made to the same objection: That he had not delivered his own sentiments, but those of the person to whom the Work was addressed; and who being a Tyrant, though he could not but be pleased with them, yet if they were made the rule of his conduct, he foresaw, what every one skilled in Government must know, and experience justified, that his reign would be short. That this was the end of his wishes, as he abhorred the Prince to whom he inscribed the Work; and, writing to a Tyrant, he had put down what would be agreeable to that character, with no other view than to urge him on to a ruin, to which he was hastening of his own accord." --- The Work was then but lately published; and it is no small instance of sagacity in our illustrious Countryman, to have been the first who gave the alarm, both in *England* and *Florence*, before the latter, which had hatched the Viper, was aware of its poison. *Leo X.* after the Work was published, had cherished the Author amongst his intimates: he had escaped the censure of *Adrian VI.* and *Clement VII.* to whom he dedicated his *History of Florence*, had granted an ample privilege to an edition of all his Works. *Yet the soul of one righteous man,* Proverbs. and he a Briton, discerned more than seven centinels from a watch-tower; and, at first sight, discovered all the danger which they had overlooked.

I shall have occasion, in another part of REGINALD's Life, to lay before the Reader the arguments by which he exposes the folly and impiety of *Machiavel's* policy, and proves it to be equally destructive of all private and public good.

Before he left *England*, *Erasmus*, who was then at *Friburg*, had testified to him by letter, "the satis-

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I.

satisfaction he had received, in hearing the consideration in which his country held him, was equal to his birth, his probity, and learning †." But these very advantages, so far from making his abode there desirable, were the strongest motives for leaving it. He was too conspicuous not to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments soon necessary; and his open and steady temper admitted neither of disguise, nor the treachery of dissimulation. He owed his Prince the compliance which Gratitude, Affection, and Loyalty exact; but, in a duty of a higher order, he was accountable at another bar. He alone was to answer for any stain in his character; and, besides the reproach of a personal failing, would have set a fatal example, which was so earnestly desired from him, of accommodating his counsels to his Sovereign's inclinations, rather than of promoting his real service. No unbecoming motive, therefore, engaged him to retire from his country; but a generous and prudent disposition never to betray the Cause of Truth and Justice, and yet to desist from unavailing contention, which exasperates lawless power, and arms it with additional means of destruction. This inflexible steadiness in the paths of virtue, and a tender regard to all the rights of humanity, continued uniform throughout his whole life; and still reflects a greater honour on his memory, than his descent from the *Plantagenets*, the high dignities he was raised to, his skill in public affairs, and a knowledge and eloquence equal to any of the age in which he lived.

† Mihi summæ voluptati fuit te illic et rectè valere, et in ea esse dignitate, quam, præter imaginum claritatem, et probitas ista meretur et eruditio.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

*His private Life in France and Italy. Inscribes
a Work to Henry VIII. Draws up a Plan
of the Church's Reformation.*

S E C T.
II.

REGINALD, by the good offices of some who were in favour, had not only obtained the King's consent to cross the seas, but also the continuance of those annual supplies he had hitherto never ceased to allow him. The first acknowledgment he made to this Royal bounty, was to choose a place for his abode, which might conceal him from public observation, and at the same time give him an opportunity of improving in those attainments, which the exigencies of his Prince and Country chiefly called for. With this view he pitched on *Avignon*, a city in *Provence*, but subject, with its territory, to the See of *Rome*, for his residence. On his arrival, the sepulchre of *Laura*, whom *Petrarch* has so much celebrated, was discovered. The inhabitants congratulated themselves on this incident, no less than the *Sicilians* had done on the discovery of *Archimedes's* tomb, the memory of which they had lost; and paid the person who discovered it, almost the same honours the latter had conferred on *Cicero* for the like benefit*. She was a native of that city, and born about the year 1340. Her wit and beauty distinguished her in an age and country, where it was fashionable for young Ladies to think they had minds capable of improvement like those of the other sex; and that the means of improve-

* *Bembi Epist.* 1, 6. p. 279c Edit. *Venetæ*, 1552.

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ment are reading and conversing with men of sense. *Petrarch* had a respect and affection for her, which nothing less than so extraordinary merit could have lengthened to such a date: he loved her twenty years before her death, and ten after; and has given her, in his verses, that second life which consists in well-sung praise.

Avignon was now a celebrated seat of learning; and the great *Alciate*, after having honoured it with his Lectures on the Civil Law, was gone to *Beziers*, some time before *REGINALD*'s arrival. He found however *Ripa*, who succeeded that Professor, and whom *Sadolet* commends for his great and comprehensive erudition; and *Castellan*, Dean of *Avignon*, whose learning and friendship for our Countryman are particularly recorded by *Bembo*. By the assistance of such company, and the advantages of leisure and privacy, he applied himself, as he had already done, wholly to sacred Literature, from a prospect of what was impending on his country. For in a letter to *Sadolet*, written about this time, "he assures him he had not, for the four last years, which take in one he had spent at *Paris*, the stay he made in *England*, and his residence at *Avignon*, even read so much of Classic Latin, as he then wrote to him, having been intirely taken up with Theology *." This is a sacrifice to duty, of which they only know the price, who have experienced the difficulty of making it.

He had scarcely continued a year at *Avignon*, when perceiving the climate, which is subject to winds and frequent hurricanes, not to agree with his health, he thought of returning to *Padua*, where

* *Sanctè adjurare possum, me, à quatuor jam annis, ne tantum quidem latinè legisse, quantum nunc ad te scripsi, Theologorum libris avocatus, quos tamen in hoc genere latinorum Scriptorum non pono.*

where he had so long experienced both the clemency of the air, and the good-will of the inhabitants. He took *Carpentras* in his way thither, of which city the famous *Sadolet* was then Bishop, and began an intimacy, which was so honourable and advantageous to them both, and ended only with *Sadolet's* life, who died some years before his friend. At his leaving *Avignon*, *Sadolet* wrote by him to *Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, "that the bearer, with whose virtue, nobility and learning, he was well acquainted, was on his return to *Italy*; and that his chief inducement, as he imagined, was to renew his correspondence with the learned of those parts, and particularly with himself." And writing soon after to *Bonamico*; "when REGINALD passed by *Avignon*, his stay, says he, was so short, that it hardly allowed me to contemplate him; and yet, methought, I discovered such various excellence in every kind of merit, that from henceforward I have not only loved, but conceived the highest veneration for him. His Genius, his Probity and Erudition, intitle him to our esteem; but there is still something more admirable, that such a goodness of disposition, and so much humanity, should be joined to an elevated fortune, and Royal extraction." In a third letter to REGINALD, he makes no difficulty of repeating to himself, what he had already said of him to others; "I will write to you, says he, my real sentiments: I was so taken with your behaviour, with your conversation, with your worth and modesty, that I have never been able to forget our meeting. For though the shortness of your visit denied me the advantage of an intimate acquaintance, yet when I reflect on your manner of life, and on the opinion so many great personages have entertained of you, and see how perfectly it agrees with my own ob-

3^o Non.
Dec.
1532.

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III

observations, I begin to consider you such as you really are."

As REGINALD had let no opportunity slip of improving himself by the advice and discourse of able men, *Sadolet* informs *Giberti*, he might know every thing which concerned himself from his Guest; "for, says he, the short time he was with me, he inquired what method I observed in reading and writing, and what was the principal view I proposed to myself in my studies; and I have reaped, in my turn, the greatest satisfaction from his acquaintance, having discovered a genius of the first class, a consummate knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* languages, accompanied with humanity, and great elegance of manners." He had moreover received his advice on a very important article, which does equal honour to the enlightened mind of the one, and the teachable disposition of the other.

Sadolet, from being brought up amongst the Wits of *Leo* the Xth's Court, had retained a secret bias to those studies which were there in request: and though, on his advancement to Episcopacy, he had begun to apply himself to pursuits more suited to his character, yet a certain irresolution still hung on him, and hindered him from closing with what unquestionably had the better claim to his industry. He had now two Works on his hands; a Comment on *St Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*, which he undertook, he says, "because he was desirous to bring all the assistance he could to the cause of Christianity, which was almost every where in danger; and had endeavoured to treat the subject, so as to deserve the approbation of the learned, with whose discernment he was not unacquainted; but whether he had succeeded, the event would show." The other Work was inscribed *Hortensius*, or the Praise of

of *Philosophy*, and is a second part to what he had formerly published under the title of *Phædrus*. He was in some doubt which he should finish first; and *Bembo*, whom he had consulted, and who as yet seems to have made but a slender progress in Christian literature, was earnest with him in favour of the latter: "Your reputation, says he, is concerned in giving this Dialogue your first cares. You are engaged to the Public by the pledge you have already given of the performance. The expectation you have raised, and so many years deferred to gratify, will make you find less indulgence than if you had published nothing on this head." REGINALD's opinion had likewise been asked, and he had delivered it in so comprehensive a manner, as not only to resolve the question in debate, according to the rules of that prudence, which *descends from the Father of Lights*, but to give the decisive cast to his friend's future conduct with respect to letters.

"I shall never forget, says *Sadolet*, the faithful and prudent advice you gave me, when I was unresolved to what kind of Learning I should chiefly apply myself, and to what Authority I should pay the greatest deference. There were not wanting those who proposed to me certain plans of study and writing, very different from what I have now embraced. But you readily and wisely counselled me to addict myself chiefly to those, whose emolument extended not only to this life, but to futurity. This single answer determined me to betake myself to sacred literature, to which my own choice already inclined me. At the same time, I could not but admire your sagacity and sense of Religion; for though you had been long conversant with a set of men who are rather averse to these studies, and being your-
self

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self adorned with every accomplishment, to which the ideas of Elegance, Politeness and Pleasure, are annexed, with which the others are deemed to have little affinity; yet, by the sole effort of discernment, and goodness of disposition, you have given the preference, not to what affords present entertainment, but what brings with it the most lasting advantages."

Sept. 1532

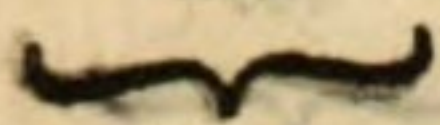
When REGINALD left *Avignon*, *Sadolet* had just finished a treatise *On Education*, which was designed for the use of his nephew, a youth of very promising parts, and who succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Carpentras*, with a reputation not unworthy such an uncle and predecessor. This Work was to be delivered by REGINALD to *Bembo*, who was then at *Venice*, in order to be revised by him, before it appeared in print: and REGINALD, the bearer, was desired to read it, and send the Author his sentiments of the performance, with the utmost freedom. Such offices are seldom asked with sincerity, or performed with candour, or taken in good part; but the character of the persons here concerned, placed them above all such exceptions. And as this incident gave occasion to the first letter, which has been transmitted to us, of this excellent young man; and it being a finished piece of that Eloquence, which *Cicero* defines to be "Wisdom, with the advantages of Elocution;" I shall give the Reader the chief heads of it*. They convey a lesson particularly necessary to these times, when the

* As the Letter is too long to be inserted intire, the Reader will find the original in the Appendix, N^o II. and may collect from it the justness of the following observation of *Erasmus* on the Author. "*Ciceronis admirator summus, et æmulator non infelix, nihil adhuc suo nomine voluit in lucem prodire; quanquam in epistolis familiaribus satis declarat, quid valeat.*" *Erasm. Ciceronianus.*

the precepts of Belief and Practice, which are derived from Revelation, are either contemptuously rejected, or impiously opposed; and we seem gone back to the æra of an *Aurelius*, or an *Antonine*, when Philosophy, that is, the light of Reason, depraved by every weakness of vitiated nature, was the sole acknowledged guide of human life. As soon therefore as he arrived at *Venice*, he wrote to his friend in the following manner.

He begins, "by acknowledging the obligations he had to him, which were of such a nature, as to reach beyond the time they were conferred: That having been extremely desirous of his acquaintance, he had reaped that advantage from it, which might reasonably be expected from such consummate learning and prudence; and had been resolved on several important affairs, on which he had before been doubtful and fluctuating. --- I must apply, says he, to the entertainment I met with at *Sadolet's* house, what *Timotheus* told *Plato*, the day after he had supped with him, that *Plato's* banquets were not only agreeable at the time when the guests partook of them, but afterwards. You found, I confess, an expedient, if not to remove, to soften at least the concern I felt, in being obliged to leave a person, for whom I had so great a value, almost as soon as I was acquainted with him; nor did you suffer me to be totally deprived of yourself. The Companion you gave me, placed you constantly in my sight, and recalled, in so lively a manner, those amicable and useful conversations I had with you, that the impression they then made, still continued. Who indeed could give me a juster notion of you, than yourself? than your writings? than that very treatise which I was to deliver to *Bembo*? --- He then expresses the satisfaction he had received from a Work, which had

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caused him to overlook all the inconveniencies of a troublesome journey; and fixed his attention on that lucid path, by which he leads his Pupil to true glory. He enters on the particulars of that masterly prudence, by which age and experience had enabled him to point out the dangers and obstacles which occur in this pursuit, and the means by which they were to be shunned or conquered. He describes the satisfaction he felt, in seeing the great Master every where equal to the undertaking, and always rising to the dignity of his subject. That as the Sun never withdraws his rays, but alternately transfers the day to all who stand in need of it; so, in this illustrious course of Merit, the instructions of *Sadolet* had continued still the same; had shed an universal influence on Education; and, by turns, conferred their aid, and communicated their force to every part of it. That no one had a better title to such an admirable plan than his nephew, for whose advantage it was drawn up; whose birth, the domestic discipline he had received from his parents, and a happy disposition to whatever was laudable, had already prepared him for these sublimer lessons. --- And having at length said every thing which the excellence of the Work, and his own relish for that excellence, together with his personal regard for the Author, could suggest; and said it with an eloquence both of sentiment and diction, not inferior to the subject of his commendation: as the Author had desired his opinion on the whole performance, he does not dissemble his disapprobation of the conclusion; and tells him, he thinks he should not have finished his plan with what concerns Philosophy, but have carried it on still further. I will not dispute, says he, the excellence of this Science, and the preference it might have claimed above all

all others, had your Disciple lived in the early times of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, or in the later age of *Cicero*, or had these Instructors been his Guides. In this case, he could not perhaps have acquiesced in any attainment more safe and satisfactory; nor would they have advised any other. But being born in happier days, in which, as several new tracts of sea and land, unknown to Antiquity, had been discovered; and Harbours, which the Ancients had frequented, were become of little use, or lay buried in ruins; so, under the guidance of the SON of GOD, a much safer and calmer haven of the mind had been opened to us, than the ancient world had ever been acquainted with. And as *Sadolet* himself, though he had called at the Ports of the Ancients, yet had sailed by them, nor made any longer stay, than was necessary to store his vessel for the remainder of the voyage; and at length had taken up his station in that haven, which eternal Wisdom points out; why did he leave so promising a youth, whose course he had hitherto steered, in the unsafe and ruinous harbour of Philosophy, which now no longer deserved even that denomination, but was become what the Poet said of *Tenedos*,

Nunc tantum sinus et statio malefida carinis.

Once blest with wealth, while *Priam* held the sway,
But now a broken, rough, and dangerous bay.

PITT.

That the caution, accuracy, and admirable precepts, which were wrought into the System he had lain down, could never be designed to form a person, who was to owe his final instruction to Philosophy, and betake himself to her discipline; but for one who would be able to give the greatest

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Masters in that Science, were they to return again to life, a new and more excellent model than they had ever thought of. That this wisdom and tranquillity were very different from what they had made profession of; was to be derived from other sources; and had the same advantage over whatever Philosophy could propose, as divine things have above human. He intreats him therefore not to think he had acquitted himself of what he owed to so excellent a young man, if he initiated him in this Science, or even made him a perfect master of it. That he must proceed beyond that attainment, nor judge his part performed, till he had brought him into that sacred haven, in which himself had found solid peace of mind, and true glory. --- What would the judicious say, if a brother's son should fix his station elsewhere than in the hallowed Seat which *Sadolet* had chosen for himself? --- He concludes with saying, I have enlarged myself on this subject, to obey your commands of sending you my opinion of a Work, which I cannot sufficiently admire; and, at the same time, to testify my esteem for sacred literature, which I could not, without concern, see passed over in silence, whilst you do so much honour to the other branches of learning."

Venice,
Nov. 1532

To this *Sadolet* returned answer, "that he could not but greatly approve and love that virtue, and a mind devoted to God, which appeared in this expostulation, as in all REGINALD'S other actions and discourses; but, that his reason for not making any particular mention of Theology was, because it came under the general notion of Philosophy, and was the utmost height and perfection of it: that in Philosophy, as in a great body, there were several parts, and that which treated of God, and the first Cause, as *Aristotle* had well ob-

observed, was almost alone worthy that appellation: and although the Christian Writers of later times had treated Theology in a different manner, yet those holy and learned personages, a *Cbrysfostome*, a *Basil*, and others, had viewed it in the same light as he had done, and called it Philosophy. Besides, says he, as I only bring my Disciple to the twenty-fifth year of his age, and then leave him to his own determination, I did not judge it proper to recommend professedly to him a Science, which seems suited to riper and more sedate years. That, as to what concerns Religion, he had said as much of it as was necessary to be known at so early a period of life; and, to conclude, as he intended to range all Philosophy under its several heads, in another treatise, called *Hortensius*, he had not thought it adviseable to anticipate the commendation of Theology, which was to be the principal ornament of that Dialogue; and, being reserved new and entire for the Reader, would give him greater pleasure."

Dec. 1532

These reasons did not hinder REGINALD from still thinking, that *Sadolet* had treated sacred literature with less attention than it had a claim to, as we learn from a reply of the latter, where he says, "he imagined he had already cleared himself, but since he persisted in the charge, he would take care to satisfy him in as ample a manner as he could wish: and that all he asked, was an unprejudiced review of the point in debate, which biased the judgment to neither side, in a cause which was yet undecided."

July 1533

An incident happened, some time after, which gave REGINALD an opportunity of resuming the argument; not as a general defence of Theology, but as an affair, in which he thought the honour and welfare of an intimate friend not a little interested. On his fixing his residence at *Padua*, he

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had taken into his family *Lazarus Bonamico*, of whom mention has already been made among the Restorers of learning, and whose character he represents to *Sadolet* in the following words: "Nothing has prevented me from opening my mind to him, on the subject of his Studies, so much as my own bashfulness. I could not think it became one so little qualified as myself, to advise a person of his years, learning, and discretion; though I had every reason to be persuaded he would take what I had to say in good part. I am acquainted with his humanity, and the integrity of his life. He is exempt from ambition, and all irregular appetites, and has no desires but of knowledge and virtue."

The University of *Padua* had appointed him chief Professor of Polite Letters; an employment which his noble Patron thought much beneath the eminent qualities he was master of, and which, as he writes to *Sadolet*, "required something more elevated, than to explain the precepts of speaking, from *Tully's* Orations; or those of Husbandry, from *Virgil's* Georgics *. On coming to *Padua*, says he, I had some thoughts of allowing my leisure hours to these studies, having received here the first relish for them; though I had lain them aside, some years, in order to give myself wholly to such as were suited to the exigencies of my country, and the common cause; and I proposed to myself great emolument from the proficiency my friends had made in them: but I now perceive that the latter are so imperious as to demand the whole man, and not even to allow me the

* Cui enim dubium esse potest, si vel ad eam partem Philosophiæ se converteret, in quâ præcepta vitæ traduntur, et animi excolendi ratio ostenditur, quanto majore cum fructu et dignitate hic commoraretur, quàm si apud Oratores et Poetas manens, orationis formandæ præcepta ex *M. Tullio*, vel agri colendi ex *Virgilio* repeteret? *Epist. R. Poli*, pars i. p. 413.

the vacancy of a passing glance, on what had been the object of my earliest inclinations †. On this account, *Lazarus* is lost to me in every other respect but that of an easy and pleasing companion. Our society would be much more beneficial to each other, had we the same literary pursuits, and a taste for the same studies; but I have never dared to open my mind to him on this matter. One great cause of this diffidence was a paragraph in one of your letters, in which you exhort him to continue in his present station, as highly honourable to himself, and of great utility to the youth of *Italy* §. He proceeds to remind *Sadolet*, “that he cannot be ignorant, though their common friend reaped no inconsiderable advantage from the elegant career he was engaged in, yet there were higher attainments, in which he might exert his parts and industry with greater commendation to himself, and profit to his auditors. --- That he had made great progress in Philosophy.

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† Nosti genus studiorum meorum, quibus me iis proximis annis addixi, quàm imperiosa ipsa sint, quàm non facilè aliorum studiorum societatem admittant. Quibus cùm parere necesse habeam, ad illas elegantiores literas vix sanè oculos convertere audebam. Sed tamen in *Italiâ*, ubi has primum novi, sperabam me, etsi non plenam vacationem (nunquam enim hoc postulassem) at saltem tantum temporis à severioribus Dominis impetraturum, ut cum veteribus illis amicis, quasi adolescentiæ meæ sociis, et sodalibus jucundissimis, quos longo intervallo non inviseram, familiaritatem renovare possem; atque hac spe fretus *Lazarum* nostrum, quem magistrum atque tutorem harum ingenuarum atque dulcissimarum artium cognoveram, in contubernium vocavi, ut eo duce et adiutore faciliùs quod volebam consequi possem. *Ibid.* p. 410.

§ Deterreor planè eâ particulâ literarum tuarum, in quâ præsentem *Lazari* statum et conditionem probare niteris: hortaris enim ut in suâ statione maneat, ut cùm eam provinciam instituendi juvenum animos in politioribus literis susceperit, eam ne relinquat; quam affirmas maximam illi gloriam, et *Italicæ* juventuti utilitatem summam allaturam. *Epist. R. Poli*, pars I. p. 411.

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Philosophy, with which Rhetoric and Poetry, either as to use or dignity, held no comparison; since whatever was truly profitable and ornamental in each of them, was borrowed from the former; and that he owed the applause which attended his lectures, more to this, than to the other two. That *Pomponatius* would have bestowed so much pains to bring him acquainted with the wisdom of Antiquity, to little purpose, if all these acquisitions were to be shut up in a Grammar School, and nothing more was to be expected from such a proficient, than what qualities so much inferior to his might acquit themselves of. I cannot, indeed, says he, think of this with indifference; and, setting aside the regard I have for my friend, I cannot overlook the injury done to Philosophy itself, as I am writing to one who is her Patron; nor do I scruple to ask your assistance in a cause, where your friend's honour, and that of your favourite Science is concerned. You will do a signal service to both, by taking him from the benches of the Rhetoricians, and restoring him to Philosophy, from which he is now a Truant *.

* Quid verò jam habent Oratorum vel Poetarum literæ vel dignitatis, vel utilitatis, si cum Philosophorum libris comparantur? quæ, ut tu omnium optimè nosti, si quid in se contineant, quod hominem studiosum vel ornare vel juvare potest, ex horum fontibus hauserunt: Atque ex horum est doctrinâ, non minus quàm ex ea quam profitetur, quod *Lazarum* præceptorem tam gratum acceptumque suis Auditoribus reddit. Sed quid eum *Pomponatius*, vir in Philosophorum libris celeberrimus, tot annos exercuit? quid tot exhausti labores in veterum Philosophorum libris evolvendis, si tandem Philosophiam in Rhetoris vel potius Grammatici officina sit conclusurus? si nihil amplius ab eo expectetur, quàm ut Grammatici Scholæ, et puerili doctrinæ serviat? Ama me, hoc non libenter video, et, ut nihil jam de amico loquar hanc tantum Philosophiæ illatam injuriam reticere non possum, præsertim apud te Philosophiæ ipsius Patronum; neque certè jam dubitem auxilium tuum implorare, ut unâ operâ Amici dignitati et Philosophiæ honori consulas. Quod profectò facies si à Rhetorum scholis abductum in Philosophiæ eum gremio, unde aufugit, reponas. *Ibid.*

But you will ask me, what Philosophy has to do with those studies in which I desire his fellowship, and if I have forgotten the purpose with which I set out in the beginning of this letter? By no means: but since I perceive this would be a task of great difficulty, I shall think, I have gained a main point, if I compass what I here mention; and though it would be more desirable, as we have the same house, to have the same studies, yet, if that cannot be, I shall be pleased to have him in their neighbourhood, as such a removal will be both for his honour and advantage. For if he applies himself to genuine and real Philosophy, in such a manner as to live according to her prescriptions, it would not be long before he came over to those studies I recommend; because Philosophy will be so ingenuous as to acknowledge her own insufficiency to detain and satisfy a mind desirous of truth and virtue. This concession, says he, has already been made by *Plato*, the chief Master in this Science, who being asked, how long he would have his doctrine followed; answered, till a more venerable person should appear in the world, and point out the paths of truth; to whom, as to a God, mankind was to yield assent. And this Divine Person having appeared, and established a holy and everlasting Law; what sentiments were we to entertain of Philosophy, but that she would obey her Parent's orders, and send her Scholars to the School He indicates? I make no question but our friend has already heard this voice, though, like a modest Disciple, who has a high opinion of his Instructor, he has not given a willing ear to what she has said to her own disparagement; and will understand it better when expounded by one on whose judgment he can rely.---That, not to say any thing of the authority of the Parent of Philosophy, there was no

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axiom more universally received, than that the mind of man could never be led to a perfect perception of truth by human industry; to which, if Philosophy afforded any assistance, it was to inform us of our ignorance: that this was undisputed; whereas all other things, though they might seem to border on truth, had no certainty: that the senses, without which Reason itself could make so short a progress in her inquiry after truth, were very unsafe guides; and, like an earth-born mist, intercepted her rays, and obstructed their full influence on the mind. God himself, therefore, in compassion to the wanderings of his creatures, has vouchsafed to open to them the sacred Source of Truth, in which every thing was liquid and genuine; and therefore Philosophy, as he had said before, if she was consistent with herself, could direct her Pupils to no other discipline.--- From all which it appears, that by desiring our friend might, by your authority, betake himself to the study of Philosophy, I have pleaded the cause of something more noble and useful, being well persuaded, that whosoever intends to be a Philosopher indeed, will never sit down satisfied with a Science which is not satisfied with itself, but directs her looks to that which derives its origin from heaven, and without which she has neither foundation or consistency. Wherefore, if he gives himself a little to this introductory knowledge, methinks I already see him come over to what is more elevated: and having been fully initiated in this divine discipline, if he has a mind to return again to human Philosophy, and adorn what he has a peculiar title to call his own, he will be enabled to do it with much greater advantage, being furnished with those aids which therefore flow from the source of Truth, that they may be a rule to other inquiries, and prescribe its

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proper bounds to every thing besides. He concludes, with informing *Sadolet*, that whereas these were the principal inducements, which would have engaged him to enter, with *Lazarus*, on the argument of divine Philosophy, he had never been able to prevail on himself to open his mouth to him on that subject, unless it was indirectly, in order to come at his real sentiments, by proposing to him the studies of persons for whom he has the highest regard, and, above all others, for *Sadolet*; and put him in mind, by such examples, what ought to be his own views *."

Padua,
Oct. 1534.

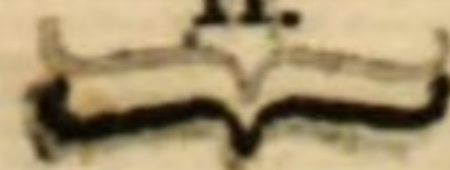
These were the sentiments of an *English* Nobleman at the age of four and thirty; and as yet he must be considered as a Layman; for though he was Dean of *Exeter*, and had other spiritual preferments, yet he was not in holy Orders, nor had so much as received the first tonsure, which he took, two years after, on the same day that the Pope obliged him to accept the Purple †. His judgment cannot but have great weight, as he was no less conversant in the whole circle of polite learning, than in that erudition which he here patronises with so much warmth. Yet there appeared to *Sadolet*, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane literature, something excessive in the manner with which he urged an application to the former, as tending to exclude all other knowledge. He replied, therefore, with his usual candour, "that being well acquainted with REGINALD's dispositions, his love of virtue, and that generous

* Hæc verò cum maxima invitamenta essent ut de cœlesti hac Philosophiâ cum ipso agerem, nunquam tamen pudorem meum vincere potuerunt, ut vel verbum cum eo de hac re facerem; nisi fortè obliquè animum ejus tentarem, cum doctissimorum hominum, quos in summâ veneratione habet, et maxime tui ipsius studia illi proponerem, ut exemplo cum vestro admonerem, quò tendere deberet. *Ibid.* p. 416.

† See his Life by *Becatelli* and *Dudithius*.

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generous ardour, which always carries on great minds to what is most excellent, there was nothing so sublime to which he might not aspire; that he had entertained these hopes of him from their first acquaintance, and though it gave him a singular satisfaction to see his expectations answered, yet he was under no small concern to perceive he made so slight of attainments which were of such real importance, that even those of a higher nature, to which his friend very deservedly gave the preference above all others, could not subsist without them: And because, says he, I have been twice charged by you on this head, this seems a seasonable place to give you my opinion briefly on it. --- You would, therefore, have the study of what concerns us, as Christians, preferred to all others; and in this I readily agree with you. Why then do we employ our time in other Sciences, and particularly in Philosophy? because we cannot finish a building, without laying a foundation, and raising the walls. And if it be asked, what time and attention are to be employed about these, that we may, at length, wholly give ourselves to what has the best claim to our application; the answer is ready, that it is the business of a prudent Oeconomist to take care of the preservation and welfare of the whole family, not of some one part only; but still so to temper the care of the whole, that the more valuable parts be chiefly looked to. --- That it was visible, Theology, considered as a Science, could not subsist without Philosophy, and that neither could gracefully discharge their respective duties, if they were unprovided of language. --- That the pleasure of finishing a production in such sort as no neglect or deficiency could be discovered in it, was too much felt not to be acknowledged; and rewarded the Artist by a consciousness which was grounded

grounded in nature itself. --- But, if this fitness in the manner of expressing ourselves might be overlooked, the same reasons might prevail on us to lay it aside in our gestures, in our voice and countenance; by all which persons of an ingenuous education are distinguished from others. --- That every body was desirous, that even a Servant, besides being honest and careful, should be clean and decent. --- These advantages, though not absolutely necessary to attain the chief Good, yet conduced to it, and had this effect, that several by this means came better informed to the pursuit of it: and it was much to be feared, if we only retained what was of mere necessity, and rejected every thing else, instead of becoming equal to Angels, we should cease to be on a level with Men. It was indeed our great duty to refer every privilege we enjoyed to God, the Author, and employ them to his glory; and whoever proceeded on this principle, and aimed, in all his undertakings, at what could give lustre and dignity to them, had no cause to fear either being deluded by vain-glory, or diverted from the pursuit of true happiness. --- On these motives he was of opinion, we should apply ourselves to the liberal Arts, as long as we had reason to be satisfied with our proficiency; and, particularly, to Philosophy, from which the higher and more sacred attainments drew great support. --- That, as to REGINALD's assertion, that Theology ingrossed his leisure and attention, so as to allow him no vacancy for any thing else, he tells him ingenuously, he is at a loss in what manner to take such a declaration: for if those things only were to be learnt, in which our faith and trust in the divine goodness and veracity are concerned, the writings, in which these points are contained, were neither voluminous nor obscure: that the Gospels alone contained

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contained the most complete information on these heads: but, if the precepts there laid down, were to be expounded with propriety and distinction; surely, the litigious and uncouth Writers of later times, who extend such a formidable front in all Libraries, and make the shelves bend under them, could not afford us greater assistance than we receive from *St Paul*, the *Law*, and the *Prophets* *. Few Works, says he, are necessary in order to understand divine matters, but which should be properly chosen and well digested; and these were so far from denying us an opportunity of being conversant in human literature, that this caused them to be viewed in a more useful light, and added to their dignity. That no one ever dreamed, that those great men of the *Greek* and *Latin* church, who first illustrated the tenets of Christianity, could ever have done it with such success, if they had been destitute of these succours: and as to their common friend *Bonamico*, on whose account this discussion had, in some part, been renewed, he had never, indeed, thought it necessary to encourage him in the study, which *REGINALD* had enforced; as he already had a high veneration for it; and readily granted that sovereign excellence was not to be attained, unless to the various endowments he was master of, he added the most noble and necessary of all informations; of which he proposed to give as ample a commendation in *Hortensius*, as the nature of the work would admit †.

Dec. 1534.

This seems to have been the end of this amicable and learned controversy, it being no where taken

* Si verò illa explicanda sunt uberius et enucleatius tractanda, an tu plus in eo tibi ab infinitis voluminibus istorum, qui ætati nostræ propinquiore, omnia referferunt inconditis libris, et litigiosè scriptis, quàm à *Paulo*, et *Lege* veteri et *Prophetis*, opis latum iri existimas?

† Epist. R. Poli, pars 1. p. 418.

taken up in their future correspondence. *Banel*, in a letter to *Selva*, has stated the question in debate; and, having weighed the arguments on each side, seems to incline in favour of our Countryman; and his authority is more considerable, as he was every way qualified to decide in such a case, having joined great and universal knowledge to a life truly Christian; and deserved, by his writings, the reputation of having revived in *France*, under *Francis I.* the eloquence of the age of *Augustus*. When he accompanied the Ambassadors of that Prince to *Venice*, the Learned of *Italy* made such account of him, that *Paul Manutius* acknowledges himself indebted to him for all his skill in writing the Latin language with purity. He died at *Turin*, in the forty-seventh year of his age, having just disclosed a merit, to which a longer period would have given its full maturity. In the letter I have cited, he takes notice of the satisfaction he had received from being acquainted with REGINALD's happy temper, and unfeigned probity; and observes of *Sadolet*, that though there was no kind of Science in which he did not excel, yet he was wont to say, that *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who had confessedly the lead in Philosophy, were flat and languid in comparison of *St Paul*.

REGINALD being now settled at *Padua*, found there, what *Virgil* ascribes to *Antenor*, its founder, *Æn.* 1. 1. an agreeable and safe retreat from the devastations of his country, which *Henry's* passions, and *Cromwell*, the instrument of them, were every day spreading wider. But though this city was his chief residence, he made frequent excursions to *Venice*; and as he lived every where with great dignity, the most distinguished persons of those parts resorted to him. At *Venice* he became acquainted with *Gaspar Contareni*, to whom ever after

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Epist. 174.
ad Leo X.
Lond. 28
Ap. 1515.

after he paid the greatest deference, of which his letters to him are sufficient proof. He was at this time a conspicuous Member of the Senate; and being afterwards created Cardinal, and employed in various and difficult negotiations, was esteemed one of the most upright and able Ministers in *Europe*. *Casa*, who wrote his Life, says, that being yet a Layman, he had acquired a singular and exquisite insight into all Christian knowledge, which he made use of, not from ostentation, but as the Rule of Life; and that it was his invariable purpose, not only to follow what Philosophy prescribes, in order to attain virtue and tranquillity, but also what the Gospel enjoins, with respect to sanctity and religion. *Carrassa* likewise, who had been Ambassador from *Leo X.* to the Court of *England*, and was afterwards founder of the *Theatins*, and raised to the Papacy, and has received the highest commendations from *Erasmus*, was now at *Venice*, and had contracted an intimacy with REGINALD. An easy access, together with his high birth, and much more the esteem which his personal qualifications had acquired, enabled him, at *Padua*, to choose his intimates; and this choice was directed by a similarity of manners and dispositions. During his former abode at this University, he had honoured *Bembo*, *Lazarus Bonamico*, and some others, with a particular friendship; and he now became acquainted with *Genua*, *Lampridius* of *Cremona*, and others, who were at this time the leading Geniuses of this celebrated Seat of the Muses. Amongst these was *Cosmus Gherius*, Bishop of *Fano*, who, though very young, was remarkable for his blameless manners, and singular erudition. To several amiable qualities, and great strength of genius, *Genua* added a descent from a family, which, after having held the chief command at *Modena*

Modena and *Mantua*, retired to that proud city, from which they took their surname. The principal Universities of *Italy* esteemed it an honour to have him amongst their Professors; and the Republic of *Venice* acknowledged the sense she had of his merit, by the munificence with which she rewarded it. Besides other monuments of his learning, he has left the memory of having had *Zerabella*, *Tomitani*, and *Speroni*, for his scholars, who were in their times what the *Steels*, the *Walsbes*, and *Addisons*, were in ours; and now are what these will be with those that come after us. I ought not to omit, for the credit of the other Sex, that his four Daughters, *Paula*, *Helen*, *Laura*, and *Cassandra*, were in the highest esteem with all the learned in *Italy*. *Gregory Cortesius*, Abbot of *St George's* at *Venice*, was another of this list. *Bembo* says, "he had been extremely pleased with his Letters, and that they surpassed the opinion he already had of his elegance. No one, says he, who does not see the title prefixed to them, will suspect them to be written by a Monk, and, to speak plainly, by an ignorant Monk; which adds much to his commendation, for having wiped away a stain, which has so long disgraced that name *." Had *Bembo* been witness to the obligations which the learned World has since had to that order of men, he would have confessed they had made ample amends to the Public for a neglect, which for so many ages was not peculiar to them, but common to all degrees of mankind. REGINALD, in a letter to *Contareni*, joins to *Cor-* Aug. 1536, *tesius*, *Mark*, a Religious man of the same Convent; "They both were with me, says he, when I received his Holiness's orders to repair to *Rome*;
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* Ne farà huom, che giudichi non leggendo il loro titolo, che elle siano di Monacho, e, per dire più chiaro, di frate. *Bemb. Litt. Ital.* vol. 1. l. 5.

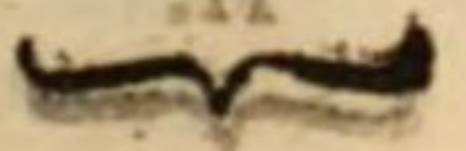
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their company added new beauties to a place with whose agreeableness you are well acquainted; and I seemed to be in *Eden*, with *Enoch* and *Elias*. How often did we wish you to make a fourth of our society!" *Becatelli*, who held a considerable rank in the University, began now his acquaintance with REGINALD; and having been many years his Secretary, and at length Archbishop of *Ragusa*, has testified his gratitude to his noble Patron, by an elegant relation of the principal actions of his life.

But the merit of our Countryman could not appear in a fairer and stronger instance, than in the memorable attachment which it produced in *Lewis Priuli*, a young *Venetian* Nobleman, of an irreproachable life, and a mind equally capable of business and letters; who being at *Padua*, on account of his studies, when REGINALD came to reside there, was so taken with his conversation, temper and manners, and the admirable qualifications he was endowed with, that he contracted a friendship with him, of which perhaps there is no other example, either in ancient or modern story: for, overlooking the love of his family and country, where he could not have failed of being raised to the first employments, he preferred REGINALD POLE's society to all other advantages; accompanied him in all his journeys, shared the vicissitude of his fortune, was of singular service to him on many difficult and important occasions, and never left him till death ended an union, which no incident through life had ever altered*.

But,

* *Erat præterea in ejus intimis atque amicissimis Aloysius Priulus, Patricius Venetus, vir ingenio et literarum cognitione excellens; qui quidem POLI consuetudine ita captus est, tantumque animi inductio, et amor erga illum apud ipsum valuit, ut totâ vitâ eum sequutus sit, ac, nisi mors, ipsos inter se conjunctissime viventes disjungere nihil potuerit. Dud. in Vit. R. Poli.*



But, as there will be frequent mention of this illustrious person, at different periods of his Friend's life, the particulars which relate to him are reserved to their proper places.

The memory of the abovementioned personages, though removed at so great a distance from our times, and at a still greater from our manners, is yet fresh; and their connections with Him, who is the subject of this history, made the account which is here given of them necessary.

This elegance in his manner of living, and his numerous acquaintance, were no obstacles to great industry in his literary pursuits, and to that liberal and universal light, in which he considered them. His friends, excelling in the same attainments, greatly forwarded his progress; and these advantages enabled him to undertake a very important Work, the merit of which appears less in the applause of those who were interested in defence of the cause he maintained, than in the pains his adversaries were at to answer it; the concessions they have made in its favour; and the earnestness which the King, to whom it was addressed, and who is a great part of the subject, shewed to have it suppressed. But before I enter on an account of the Work, it is necessary to set before the Reader those transactions which gave occasion to it, and furnish the whole matter.

It was now four years since REGINALD left 1536
England, which had been a Theatre of as various and deep a Tragedy, as that of any other Nation had ever been Spectators of, under the wildest and most frantic of their Tyrants. The affair of the Divorce, as I have already related, being brought before the Pope, and the King and Queen summoned to make their appearance, Henry had sent Agents to *Rome*; who all, except
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Doctor *Benet*, behaved in such a manner, as to give that Court, at whose Tribunal their Master's cause was to be decided, too just reasons of offence *. He had moreover made a last effort on the Queen, to prevail on her to desist from her Appeal to *Rome*, and consent to have the cause tried by a Committee of the Bishops and Nobility; and, at the same time, ordered the Conclusions of the Universities, which had given their opinion according to his inclinations, to be shewed her. *Catharine's* answers to these messages were uniform; "That their Parents had caused the lawfulness of their marriage to be examined by very able men, before it took place: That the Pope had granted the Dispensation; and that she should deem the contract valid, till the See of *Rome* declared it otherwise: but nevertheless, she begged of the Almighty to set the King her husband's conscience at rest." *Henry*, little satisfied with so reasonable a reply, sent her a threatening message, that he would see her no more, nor receive any letters from her, whilst she persisted in these sentiments, for having been his brother's Wife, she could not be his: and he gave her the choice of two or three country-seats, to which she might retire.

The Parliament meeting about the same time, they renewed their attacks on the papal authority and the Clergy: but *Henry*, not being then disposed to fall in with their ill humour, complained, in his turn, that they withheld several of his rights, and demanded redress. This the Commons refused; and a misunderstanding ensuing, though the King was advised to dissolve them, he did not. Both Houses being prorogued; they repre-

* See *Cassali's* Letter, who was *Henry's* Agent at *Rome*, N^o 6. and *Rance's*, N^o 62. in the 3d volume of *Le Grana's Histoire du Divorce*.

represented to him, at their first meeting, the great sums which the Court of *Rome* drew from *England* on various pretexts; and desired particularly, that the Bishops might be taxed at a very low rate; and if the Pope refused to send proper provisions for their consecration, that it might be performed by the Metropolitan, or any two Bishops appointed by the King, without further trouble. And if the Kingdom should be lain under an Interdict, or the King or his Subjects be excommunicated, no regard should be paid to such censures, and divine Service be celebrated, and the Sacraments administered as usual.

As the spirit of innovation had now seized the Houses, they proceeded, towards the end of the Session, to abolish the Oath which the Bishops take to the Pope at their consecration, and drew up another of the like import, which they were to take to the King. These bills passed both Houses, but no more was enacted on this head; their design, as it seems, being only to intimidate the Pope, and constrain him to come into the King's measures. Accordingly they granted his Majesty full power to treat with his Holiness about the First-fruits, and to ratify or annul the statute concerning the oath, as he should think fit: they did not so much as enter it into the Journal of their proceedings, nor did the King cause it to be registered till some years after. ^{25th of his reign.} One of the members having spoken against the Divorce in the house of Commons, and moved that the King might be intreated to cohabit with the Queen; *Henry* ordered the Speaker to signify to them his surprise, that they should meddle in an affair which concerned his conscience; that his marriage, after mature deliberation, had been condemned by many able Divines and Canonists; that, at the age of forty, it might be presumed he

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had a sufficient command of his passions; and, under the present uneasiness of his mind, he could do no less than live separately from the Queen. Thus the Sessions ended on the 14th of May; and two days after Sir *Thomas More* resigned the Seals.

The King now caused a strict inquiry to be made into Heresy, in which the Bishops seconded his capricious and sanguinary inclinations, with all the rigour of a *Spanish* Inquisition. A Priest was taken into custody, for having asserted from the Pulpit the Pope's Supremacy; and another person, accused of heresy, was dismissed, on appealing to the King, as supreme Head of the *English* Church. *Clement*, though he complained to *Henry's* Ambassadors of these proceedings, yet he carried his resentment no further: he even permitted the King to employ the revenues of certain Abbeys towards the founding of six new Bishopricks; and, notwithstanding the opposition of *Charles* the Vth's and Queen *Catharine's* Agents, he received Sir *Edward Karne*, who was sent to *Rome*, in a new character of the King's *Apologist*, though he came without Credentials. The Doctors *Benet* and *Bonner* were joined with Sir *Edward* in this commission; and, as they had taken their way through *France*, they brought with them the most pressing recommendations from the *French* King, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, *du Prat*, and *Grandmont*, to the Pope, and several of the sacred College. But, as no stress could be laid upon the merits of the cause, the whole plea rested on the danger of the King's falling from the Church, and the consequences of such a defection. These remonstrances having no effect, and the *English* Agents complaining they could find no *Italian* Advocates to plead in the King's cause, the Pope assured them, that those

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who would undertake it, had nothing to apprehend: and it is probable, he gave them this declaration in writing, since the Conclusions they drew up, which were printed both at *Rome* and *London*, set forth in their title the Pope's permission.

He then appointed an Audience for all the parties concerned; and though at first he thought it most convenient to hear them in open Consistory, he afterwards changed his mind, and resolved to give each party a separate hearing. The Emperor's Ambassadors were first admitted into the Chamber of Presence, where the Pope was, with the Cardinal *Monte*. They spoke a considerable time, and endeavoured, though to no purpose, to persuade his Holiness, to admit neither Ambassador nor Apologist from the King of *England*. The Bishop of *Worcester* and *Gregory Cassali*, Henry's Ambassadors at the Court of *Rome*, were next admitted; and they insisted, that the King their Master was not obliged to appear, either in person or by proxy; and that the Court ought to be satisfied with the Apologist he had sent, and hear his Advocates. The Pope, as little satisfied with their demands, as he had been with those of the Imperialists, received the Stole, or upper robe, from the Cardinal *Medici*, and entered the Consistory, from which every one was ordered to depart. The conference which was held with a few Cardinals, on whose judgment the Pope chiefly relied, being finished, the Ambassadors, who were in an anti-chamber near the Consistory, with their respective Attornies, were introduced. The Council for *Henry* opened the Cause, with asserting, that *Rome* not being a safe place for the King to appear in, he was not obliged to pay any regard to the Pope's citation; and added, there was an Apologist, who asked

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to be heard on the footing only of an *Englishman*, who had the interests of his Country at heart. The Queen's Council, who spoke next, reproached those who had pleaded the King's cause, with falshood and slander; and that, instead of speaking to the case in question, they either misrepresented, or dropped it. And both sides being now heated, they lost all respect for the Presence, came to personal invectives; and, during five months that the affair was debated, all *Rome* flocked to the Consistory as to a Farce, in which the impertinence of the Actors was the sole entertainment. The Pope, though solicited to condemn the King, adjourned the cause for some months, and endeavoured in the mean time to prevail on him to send his Apologist Credentials, and proper instructions; which if he complied with, he granted him full power to appoint whom he pleased, to take information of the affair in *England*: and this, he said, was the last effort of his indulgence, since the definitive sentence was necessarily to be pronounced at *Rome*. He also requested the *French* King, who was soon to have a conference with *Henry*, to use his interest in order to obtain his consent to so equitable a proposal. But *Henry's* case was already desperate; and that very interview, from which the Pope entertained some hopes of this Prince becoming more tractable on the affair of the Divorce, was the prelude to his final breach with the Queen, and soon after with the Catholic Church. The impotence of his passion would not allow him to leave his Mistress behind, when he sailed for *Calais*, near which place the two Kings were to meet: but being aware of what his own Subjects and Foreigners would think of so unwarrantable a behaviour, he imagined a part of the shame might be concealed, if she seemed to take this journey
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on any other errand but the real. It was intimated therefore to *Francis*, that *Henry* would look on it as a courtesy, if he signified a desire that *Mrs Bullen*, who had lately been created Marchioness of *Pembroke*, might accompany him; to which that gay Monarch readily agreed.

1st Sept.

1532.

The term prefixed for the King's appearance at *Rome*, either in person or by proxy, was now elapsed, and the proceedings against him resumed: but whilst the *English* Agents were amusing the Pope and the Emperor with various shifts and offers on the part of their Master, he cut at once the Knot, which he had so long in vain endeavoured to untie, and married *Mrs Anne Bullen* as soon as he returned from *France*. Doctor *Lee*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Litchfield*, performed the ceremony; the King having assured him, he had gained his suit, and obtained a Dispensation to marry whom he thought proper, provided it was done in private, and without witnesses. The Doctor, though he could not suspect the King would impose on him in a matter of such consequence, yet, as he was about to begin the ceremony, he desired his Majesty to let him see the Grant he had from the Pope; the King told him he would. On which he went to the Altar, and putting on the vestments, his difficulties recurred; and, turning to the King, he told him again, it was by all means proper the Pope's brief should be read before witnesses. *Henry* replied, in an angry and reproachful tone, that it was in a place to which none but himself had access, and that he ought to be credited on his word. On this, *Lee* went on with the service; and soon after the new Bride appeared with Child.

1533.

At the next meeting of the Parliament a Law passed, by which all appeals to the See of *Rome* were

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23d Aug.
1532.

were prohibited; all foreign jurisdiction, whether temporal or spiritual, was disowned: it was ordered, that all suits should be judged within the Kingdom, and no regard paid to Excommunication on the part of *Rome*. And if any of the Clergy refused to submit to these orders, they were to be imprisoned for a year, and fined at the King's pleasure; and a Premunire was declared to be incurred by all non-compliance. *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying at this juncture, *Cranmer*, by Mrs *Bullen*'s interest, was named to that high dignity; and as the dissolution of the King's marriage with the Queen, had been the principal motive of his promotion, the first return he made to his Patroness, was to rid her of a Rival, by declaring the King's contract with his first Wife contrary to the divine Law. In consequence of this, orders were issued to give her no longer the title of Queen; and the King so far forgot he was a Parent, as to treat the Princess *Mary* with great rigour, forbade her to see her mother, and declared her incapable of succeeding to the Crown; and would perhaps have carried his resentments still further, if this young Lady had inviolably adhered to the religious advice and example of her mother. As to the new Queen, her Coronation was attended with all that expence and vanity, which, though natural to *Henry* on other occasions, were now heightened by love; but this Pageantry, which began at *Greenwich*, and ended at the *Tower*, where the Bride landed, was a memorable contrast of that scene of Distraction and Infamy, which, three years after, in the same place, put a period to her Life, Reputation, and Royalty. *Rome*, where the cause of the Divorce, though often adjourned, had ever been observed with a watchful eye, and deemed a capital concern, was not

not a stranger to these proceedings. The Spanish Faction insisted on a Definitive Sentence, and the Pope stood in need of all his caution to elude their instances. He observed this conduct, till the injustice done to the Queen, the public scandal given by the King's second marriage, and the repeated remonstrances of the Cardinals, who were very much dissatisfied with these delays, prevailed on him to decide this long depending affair, and to shew no further forbearance towards a Prince who kept no measures with him. The sentence was therefore pronounced, by which the King's marriage with *Catharine of Arragon* was declared valid, and he enjoined to separate from *Anne Bullen*, and cohabit with the Queen. Nothing was added concerning the Censures the King was to incur, if he did not comply with the Decree. These, after as patient a delay as the case would admit, were at length employed by *Clement's* successor, *Paul III.* and, though set at nought by the Party concerned, were neither less deserved nor less equitable.

22d Mar.
1533.

This sentence made as little impression on *Henry*, as the other proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, which were preparatory to it. He had already disclaimed the Authority by which it was pronounced; and he now began to abolish it in all its branches, and to make each of them a distinct part of the Prerogative of his own Crown. A Prelate was appointed to instruct the People every day from the pulpit at *St Paul's*, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no more power out of his Diocese than any other Bishop: and as the King, during the four last years, had taken care to prepare the People for such innovations, they now met with less opposition. In the course of this Session, the whole Jurisdiction which had hitherto been acknowledged in the See of *Rome*, was trans-

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transferred to the Sovereign: all causes, which had formerly been determined by appeal to the Pope, were reserved to him and his Council: the Bishops were not to meet, but by his order, and their ordinances to have no force, till he had approved of them. He was to appoint sixteen members of each house, to examine those already made, and annul all such as were contrary to the Laws of the Realm. On the vacancy of a See, he was to send a commission to the Dean and Chapter, by which they were empowered to proceed to an election; and the Bishop elect was to be consecrated by four others of the King's appointing: his power, in a word, was extended to all matters both of Discipline and Doctrine. Some Laws against Heretics, made in the reigns of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* were repealed: but those who relapsed into errors, or refused to abjure them, were condemned, on conviction, to be burnt alive; which Law the King caused to be executed with great severity. As supreme Head of the Church of *England*, he sometimes presided in person at these judgments; and a letter of *Cromwell* to Sir *Thomas Wyat*, the King's Ambassador in *Germany*, gives the following account of one of these Trials. "The King sat openly in the Hall, and presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable Heretic, who was burned on the 20th of *November*. It was a wonder to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Highness exercised the very office of supreme Head of the Church of *England*. I wish the Princes and Potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marveled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him no otherwise than, in a manner, the mirror
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and light of all other Kings and Princes in Christendom *." But, notwithstanding this fustian, such a disgraceful Scene does as little credit to the principal Actor, as to the Sycophant who describes it. The King's marriage with *Anne Bullen* was confirmed, and that with *Catharine of Arragon*, annulled; and Children born of such alliances were declared illegitimate. By virtue of this act, the Princess *Mary* was excluded the succession of the crown; and *Elizabeth*, who was lately born, looked on as the next Heir. This order, indeed, lasted no longer than his passion for the mother: when that fit was over, the first fruit of his criminal love for her was treated no better than his lawful Issue by the Queen: And as the Parliament had no other rule in making or repealing statutes, than the King's capriciousness; his will was no sooner divined, but they assented to it with such abject flattery on his wisdom and goodness; as an *English* Reader must blush, that the Representatives of his Nation could have so thoroughly forgotten what they owed to themselves and to the public.

In this manner the spiritual Supremacy was conferred on the King and his Successors; and the Throne, though filled by a Woman, was declared the sole fountain of Jurisdiction, in whatever concerned Religion. The Clergy attempted, in vain, to withstand this amazing innovation, and represented to the King the inconsistency of it with his own most solemn declarations, published to the whole world, in the Work he wrote against *Luther*, from which, amongst others, they cited the following passage: "That *Luther* could not deny that all the faithful Christian Churches of those times acknowledged and revered the See of *Rome* as their Primary and Mother: and

SECT. III. if this concession was founded neither on human or divine right, how had it prevailed so universally? how came all Christendom to own it? when did it begin, or by what means gain ground? That the *Greeks*, before their Schism, had acknowledged the primacy of the *Latin Church*, though the empire was transferred elsewhere. That *Luther*, indeed, had the impudence to affirm that the Pope's Supremacy had been usurped by force and tyranny; but that he must have lost his senses, if he expected to find mankind so sottishly thoughtless and ignorant, as to believe that the Bishop of *Rome*, without arms or temporal force, or human or divine right, should be able to establish an authority over the whole episcopal order, through so many different nations, so distant from him, and which could have no reason to dread his power: or that those kingdoms and states should be so prodigal of their own liberty, as to submit themselves, for so many ages, to a foreign priest, if he had no lawful claim to superiority*." In this manner those, who dared to dissent from the King, reasoned: *But the voice of the Charmer, who charms wisely, was in vain applied to the Adder, the* Psalm 58. *deaf Adder, that stops her ear.*

This account of the Divorce was necessary to place REGINALD's conduct in a true light, as he not only refused the second Church preferment in the kingdom, and a distinguished degree in his Prince's favour, rather than approve of it; but every where in his writings represents this shameful and disastrous affair, and the means which were used to bring it about, as the effect of those passions which chiefly disgrace human nature, and overthrow states; *the inconstancy of lust, falsehood, and revenge.* And that nothing might be wanting to give the iniquity of the whole proceeding every aggrava-

Wisdom
ch. 14. v.
26, 27.

* Defens. Sacram. contra Luth.

aggravation it admitted of, which *Henry* always took care should be the characteric of his transgressions; the impious farce of conscience was acted, and the fear of an offended God pretended as the motive of an action, in which all laws, human and divine, were violated.

But the scandal of this event was quite sunk in the immediate consequence of it, the renouncing the Pope's Supremacy, and separating from the Catholic Church, which now ingroised the attention of all *Europe*, and involved all REGINALD's future life, not only during that Prince's reign who caused it, but through the two following. *Henry* had no sooner taken on him the title of Head of the Church, but he was desirous to have his Kinsman's sentiments of his claim to it. It cannot be supposed, that he entertained any real doubt what they were; but he chose this should be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he, ever after, persecuted him and his family.

He was at *Ravelone*, a country seat belonging to his friend *Priuli*, at some distance from *Venice*, when he received the King's orders. They were enforced by the treatises of *Sampson* and *Gardiner*, Bishops of *Chichester* and *Winchester*, in defence of the lay supremacy. He sent the Work of the latter to *Contareni*, who was then at *Rome*, to have his opinion of it; and on receiving his answer, that the arguments made use of were very weak, but set off with great art; he replied, that it was the judgment he had made of it, and added, he must apply to the Author what is said of Gamblers, that their dexterity only enables them to be greater cheats. He had been informed of the situation of affairs in *England*, and had already begun a work *on the Church's Unity*; and the dispatches he lately received on the King's part, discovered to him still more the necessity of treating

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this Argument in a manner suited to the present exigencies. As this is the most celebrated and important of all REGINALD POLE's writings, the Reader will not be displeased to learn, from himself, several useful and entertaining particulars, which have a relation to the Work, and serve, more than any thing else, to give an insight into the character of the Author.

“ Many reasons, says he, writing to *Charles V.* concurred to reduce me to the necessity of undertaking this subject. The first of which was the King's positive commands to write; though not, indeed, against himself: yet the subject, on which he ordered me to send him my opinion, brought on this consequence. I had retired from my Country and Friends, at a time when they became most dear and necessary, that I might have no share in measures which I could not approve, and must have been involved in, had I stayed. I should have been under a necessity either of acting against my own conviction, the King's honour, and the welfare of my Country, if I consented to what he required; or, on my refusal, of provoking his indignation against myself, and all who belonged to me. --- My tenderneis for him, however, was such, that no authority, no persuasion, had yet been able to make me depart from the resolution I had taken, of being silent on these matters, though several persons, for whom I had the greatest deference, were of opinion I ought to have acted otherwise. He sent, therefore, his commands, when he had not the least reason to suspect I should interfere with his proceedings; when there was no farther room for deliberation; when his resolution was taken, and he had made it capital for any one to oppose it. This Law was enacted with such rigour, that no merit, however conspicuous, could screen those
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whom it included. Neither dignity, nor rank, nor learning, nor virtue; nor love and friendship of the longest standing, were any plea for exemption; and the two greatest Lights, which this Island had seen, were put to death for refusing to comply with it. These examples, he knew, were come to my knowledge; and he vainly imagined the terror of their influence, and the desire of returning to my country and acquaintance, which, otherwise, I must for ever relinquish, would bring me to a compliance: and, in that case, my authority would be of greater weight with my Countrymen, as I had hitherto been more backward in yielding to his will. His orders were, that I should send him my opinion in terms so clear and explicit, as to exclude all ambiguity and subterfuge; and if I failed in so doing, I should incur his highest displeasure. --- And here, says REGINALD, I must confess, had the case proposed been of a doubtful nature, and not openly repugnant to the divine Law; the affection I bore my Country and Relations, might have been a powerful inducement to act as I was required. For, as to the penalties with which I was threatened, and the violent deaths of those great men, which were placed before my eyes, they were so far from alarming my fears, that I saw in them the strongest motives to support, with an unshaken resolution, the cause in which they had lain down their lives. And, if the alternative was not to be avoided, I would have renounced whatever was desirable, rather than purchase the enjoyment on the terms the King offered. I was confirmed in these sentiments not so much by the many and cogent reasons which I had gathered from the writings of others, or from what my own thoughts had suggested, in the long and repeated reflections I had made on the affair, as by that single argument

*Cardinal Fisher
St. Thomas Mon.*

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ment with which the blood of these Champions, shed in this cause, furnished me. That the divine Veracity has always manifested itself by such evidence, we are assured, first, by His death who was Truth itself; and, afterwards, by those legions of Witnesses, who have attested the same doctrine, in all parts, and through all ages of the world. I beheld, therefore, the hand-writing of God in their sufferings, whose past life was a sufficient proof of the favour they had found with him; and I could not but reverence the sign and subscribe to it. These considerations banished from my breast all that dread, which the image of what they had undergone, or any other apprehension from still more affecting subjects might have raised: they armed me with a generous confidence, and gave me to understand what were the true objects of fear and hope. I was encouraged to withstand a Prince, who had appointed so iniquitous a punishment to so equitable and religious a tenet; and enabled to express myself with a spirit and ease, of which, the Work, I believe, is a proof*.

The two great examples here pointed out, were Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and nothing can so much illustrate the justness and force of REGINALD's reasoning on the merits of the cause he supports, as the character of these persons who died in defence of it.

The worth of the former is so universally acknowledged, that it would be needless to resume it here, did not the nature of the Work require I should not be quite silent on such a subject. He was one of the greatest ornaments, if not the greatest, in every kind of various excellence, this nation has ever boasted. His prudence, understanding, and temper, seemed to vie with each other,

* Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum V. Cæsarem, super quatuor libris à se scriptis, de Unitate Ecclesiæ, N^o 2^o & seq.

*The execution of these
two great & good men
was a most iniquitous
proceeding, but no way
leaving against Protestants
-ism, - Henry put
him to death, from
any motive but of
religion for he had
done himself & they
opposed his will &
he was sufficient
reason to induce him
to destroy him.*

ther, and could be surpassed by nothing but a disinterestedness, probity, and sense of religion, which rendered the man, the magistrate, and the christian complete. These more useful and valuable endowments were heightened by an exquisite erudition and knowledge, not only of the laws of his country, but of those more extensive ties which unite all men and all nations; and made him equal to the embassies he discharged, and the supreme magistracy he was invested with. The exigencies of the times induced him, in the latter years of his life, to apply himself to Theology; and his proficiency in this Science enabled him to distinguish the proper extent of civil power, and of that jurisdiction, which the Lawgiver of Christianity would have exercised by those only to whom he committed it. This enlarged knowledge and capacious mind was rendered amiable by a condescension of behaviour, an ease in public and ordinary occasions, of which history affords few or no instances. He brought up his family to the same arts, of which he was so great a Master; and the letters which he wrote to them are some of the most finished pieces which the *Latin* language affords. To this integrity of a Magistrate, the abilities of a Statesman, and the elegance of a polite Scholar, he joined the virtues of domestic life, the penitence of a Recluse, and the Christian simplicity of a Child. Being possessed of the first post which a Layman can be honoured with, he assisted, in a surplice, as a menial Clerk, the Priest at the holy Sacrifice; and going through the Hall, to take his Seat as High Chancellor, as he passed by the King's bench, where his Father was a Judge, he always asked his blessing on his knees. In the rigours of a prison, such as *Henry's* temper, and *Cromwell*, the instrument and deviser, could inflict; and the

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capacious interrogatories which were put to him on his trial, he exerted a patience and steadiness worthy the other parts of his conduct; and made that memorable reply to the Solicitor General, who objected to him his disagreement from the sense of the nation; "that if he differed from one kingdom, he had all Antiquity and all other Nations on his side." During an imprisonment of twelve months, every base artifice, by which Tyranny is supported, and which Tyrants make use of, was practised to shake his resolution; but with as little success as the Lawyer had applied his argument. He composed, in his confinement, a Commentary on part of our Saviour's passion; and, being brought to the scaffold, laid his head on the block with the same cheerfulness, which accompanied him in the actions of ordinary life. His memory has been borne down the stream of Time with so favourable a gale, that no character seems to have been more cherished. "Foreigners, says REGINALD POLE, who never saw him, were so affected with the news and circumstances of his death, that they could not refrain from weeping: and, as to myself, who write this at so considerable a distance of time, though I had few personal connections with him, yet I loved and honoured his probity, and knew the great emoluments his country received from it; God is my witness, that involuntary tears fall from my eyes, which blot out what I have written, and almost hinder me from going on with the subject §."

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§ Apol. ad Carolum V. Cæs. § 20. Sir Thomas More's Life has been written in Latin with great judgment, by Dr Stapleton, and printed at Douay, anno 1588; in which there are several original Letters of the Chancellor: The Work is not uncommon, and is to be found in most Sale Catalogues. — It

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I shall give the character of the other of these Worthies, *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rockester*, as REGINALD, who seems to have been particularly acquainted with him, has drawn it. "Nothing," says he, addressing his discourse to the Emperor, could be so reasonable a prejudice against the new Supremacy as the integrity of the Leaders who opposed it. If any one had asked the King, before the violence of his passions had hurried him out of the reach of reason and reflection, whom of all the Episcopal order he chiefly considered? on whose affection and fidelity he most relied? he would, without any hesitation, have answered, the Bishop of *Rockester*. When the question was not put to him, he was accustomed, of his own accord, to glory that no other Prince or Kingdom had so distinguished a Prelate. Of this I was witness, when, turning to me, on my return from my travels, he said, he did not imagine I had met any one, in foreign parts, who could be compared to him, either for Virtue or Learning. This advantageous judgment of his Prince, was repaid by an equal zeal and fidelity in the Bishop. He constantly professed, that besides the obligations common to all subjects, he had that, of the King being born in his Diocese, and residing more frequently in it than elsewhere: and that his Majesty's Grandmother, whose Ghostly Father he had been, and who survived the late King and Queen, had recommended her Grandson to his peculiar care. She was a person, says REGINALD, of great prudence, who was aware of the dangers of Roy-

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about
 was likewise written by his son-in-law *Roper*; and by his great grandson; and, lately, with great candor, by Dr *Warner*. — *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, his Cotemporary, has given an abstract of his life, and an account of his sufferings and death, in his treatise *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium sui ævi*, with that elegance which is peculiar to all his writings.

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about to leave the world, she, with many tears, intreated the Bishop, though several excellent men were also present, to assist the King by his instructions and advice; and desired her Grandson to have a deference for him, preferably to all others, as what would most contribute to his felicity both here and hereafter. He had, moreover, this inducement to be vigilant in the King's welfare, as he was the only surviving Counsellor of his late Majesty. The case, therefore, of the Supremacy, which was of the highest concernment, and required the most consummate learning, being proposed to him, he had answered in a manner becoming his regard for his Prince, and his own great knowledge †; nor could he be induced by threats or promises, which were first made use of, to recede from an opinion, which his duty to God, and the fidelity he owed his Sovereign, had prompted him to deliver. This was the crime for which *Henry* caused two sentences to be passed on him, equally cruel and unjust; by the first, he condemned to perpetual imprisonment an old man, so weak, that he almost expired when he was led to trial: by the other, after a fifteen months confinement, in which, as appears from a letter he wrote to *Cromwell* §, he was left destitute of common necessaries, he was beheaded. Nor did *Henry's* unrelenting rage end here; he ordered the body should remain on the place of execution, which no one dared approach, unless it was to insult, and strip of a tattered Cassock that covered it. This was the end of a Prelate venerable for his age, learning, virtue, and services;

† The Speech he made on this occasion, is preserved by *Lord Herbert*, in his *Life of Henry VIII.* page 362.

§ This letter may be seen in *Fuller's Ecclesiastical History*, who has given a very circumstantial and interesting account of *Bishop Fisher's* execution.

services; and who was not only of the Episcopal order, but had lately been honoured with the Purple. SECT.
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Notwithstanding the encouragement which such examples gave me, this objection, says REGINALD, still occurred, that I could not do justice to the cause, in which these Chiefs had so conspicuously exerted themselves, as their very death informed me, without exposing to infamy a reputation which was dearer to me than my own. I here, says he, felt that conflict which opposite inclinations never fail to raise; and having represented the jarring sentiments of a mind at variance with itself, and the motives which at length determined him, he goes on to give the Emperor the following account of the manner in which he acquitted himself of that difficult task, of reproving and giving advice to his Sovereign.

“The Work, says he, is divided into four Books. In the first of these, I refute the Supremacy the King has taken on himself, and a treatise written in defence of it, which, by his orders, was sent me from *England*. The second asserts the Prerogative of the See of *Rome*, and answers the objections made against it. In the third, I found in the King’s ear the voice which the guiltless blood he has shed, and the horror of his other actions, raises up to Heaven against him. Having thus discharged what I owed to Truth and my Country’s welfare, in the last part I cast myself at the King’s feet: I conjure him to take in good part what I had said, as it proceeded from zeal and affection; and, on this consideration, to excuse me, if any where I seem to exceed those bounds which custom has prescribed to Subjects, when they treat with their Prince.”—This is the account which he gave the Emperor of the per-

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formance, some years after it was finished: but the Work itself, even whilst he was writing it, gave rise to some Anecdotes no less pleasing than instructive.

As it advanced, he sent the sheets to be revised by *Contareni* and *Priuli*, who were then at *Rome*, and both were of opinion, that he had treated *Henry* with too little reserve, who could not but be highly offended to see himself attacked in so open a manner, and would wreak his vengeance on the Author, and on all who belonged to him. To this *REGINALD* replied, "that their observations were very just; and that he was aware of them: but since Flattery and Temporising had hitherto been the source of all the Evil, the only remaining hope was in exposing the naked truth. However, says he, when you have read the Work, if, notwithstanding what I have said at the beginning and end, you still think it wants other correctives, I submit it to those you judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." In another letter to *Priuli*, he adds, "that he had entered on the blameable part of the King's character with the utmost reluctance; that his welfare alone had engaged him to do so, which he could never attain, unless he was brought to a sense of his failures: and how can this be compassed, says he, unless they are placed before his eyes? and who will undertake this task but myself? I set his happiness above all other considerations, and there is no sacrifice I would not make to procure it. But you will reply, that I have not taken a proper method to attain it. All I can say is, that he has been hitherto treated, to no purpose, with the greatest lenity; and that nothing has contributed so much to cast him into this abyss of exemplary Vice, as the dissimulation of it." In this judgment of *Henry*, a very spirited

ited Historian agrees with REGINALD; and observes, that servile Adulation caused him, among other evils, to make his own sentiments the standard of the rest of mankind †. REGINALD's reasons seem to have satisfied *Contareni*, there being nothing more of this objection to be met with afterwards, in their letters to each other: and when the Work, four years after, was printed without any alterations, he speaks of it, "not only as an elegant and learned performance, but as the least equivocal earnest the Author could have given his Prince of his zeal and affection."-- The personal character of this excellent personage seems to place his testimony in this affair above all exception; *Paul III.* sent him to confer with the Protestants at *Ratisbon*; and all *Germany* was charmed with his integrity, learning, prudence, and moderation. His lenity was such in this Religious negotiation, that those to whom his merit was troublesome, accused him of favouring heterodox opinions. Time indeed, and better information, soon removed the prejudices which suspicion and malevolence had spread through all *Italy*; and his character has been transmitted to us more pure and valuable from this attempt to injure it.

The Work being now finished, *Priuli*, who was on his return from *Rome*, signified to REGINALD, *Contareni*'s desire of shewing it to the Pope; to which he returned this discreet answer, "That *Contareni* had a right to lay on him whatever commands he pleased: that nothing could be more agreeable to him than that the Pope should read some part of what he had written; for, as to the whole, he knew more important affairs would not allow him leisure to go through with it."

† *Hume*, vol. 1. of the *Tudors*, p. 229, in the note; and through the King's whole Life.

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REGINALD had now nothing more to do, than to send the King a Work, which was no more than an implicit deference to his commands, of giving him his real sentiments on the Supremacy he had assumed, in the clearest and most distinct terms. Yet he confesses, that he still laboured under great difficulties on account of his family, on whom he foresaw, as it happened, that *Henry* would wreak that vengeance, which he could not execute upon him. At length, says he, considerations of a higher order prevailed over the strongest ties of nature; and I no longer dared to refuse this last and greatest sacrifice I owed to duty. He adds, that, before he had taken this final resolution, as he was looking over the Work, not without some thoughts of suppressing it; and finding, to his no small wonder, those sheets to be wanting, in which the King's reputation had been treated with greater freedom, than in the other parts; he suspected they had been purloined, with

* *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, p. 1, pag. 443.

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with a malevolent design of shewing them to his Majesty, and raising his choler against the Author; and that this had determined him not to delay sending the intire Work to him.

At the same time, says he, "I wrote a private letter to him, full of affection and duty, that I might disappoint their malevolence who had secreted the papers, and incline him to excuse the frankness with which I had given my advice, if he did not think fit to follow it: I assured him, that what I had written, had been written to him alone; and been communicated to nobody, from whom his reputation could suffer: I begged of him to consult his fame, and those other interests which were still nearer; that, as for my own part, I desired nothing so earnestly, as to change my stile, and publish his praises with a joy equal to the grief I then felt in bewailing his disorders. That in the mean time I would suppress the Work, as long as I had any hopes of acknowledging, in a more pleasing argument, how much I was indebted to him for my education, and so many other marks of his Royal bounty †."

A crisis happened at this juncture, as REGINALD observes, writing afterwards to *Edward VI.* which seemed of all others the most suited to awaken in *Henry's* mind a sense of his misdemeanors, which was the only purport of the Work he was about to send him. This was the unfortunate end of Her, who had been the cause of the King's and the Nation's misfortunes. ---- *Anne Bullen*, having been tried by a Commission of twenty six Peers, was found guilty of Incontinency and Incest, and condemned to be burnt or beheaded, as the King should be pleased to order; and the sentence had been executed accordingly. 19th May, 1536.
Her brother, the Lord *Rockfort*, and some others, were

† Apol. Reg. Poli ad Car. Cæs. c. 5.

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were condemned and put to death at the same time, as accomplices in the Queen's guilt.

She had been educated at the Court of *France*, which was then a School of Gallantry, and had returned to *England* a great proficient in it. Her skill in music, in dancing, and dress, and the like accomplishments, soon captivated a sensual Prince, who had no other standard of female merit, but such allurements. She had imbibed the doctrine of *Calvin*; and the Broachers of these novelties had found no readier method of spreading them, than by insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the Ladies about the Court. They effected this by a particular profession of polite learning, which then began to appear in *France*, and in which several of *Calvin's* Disciples, no less than their Master, excelled. But on coming to *England*, she secretly favoured the tenets of *Luther*: and indeed, the latitude which the Patriarch of that Sect allowed his Followers, and which he afterwards extended to license Polygamy, in favour of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, could not but appear very commodious to the general tenor of her life. As Ambition was her ruling, though not her only passion, that had scarcely gained its end, when other inclinations, of a less spiritual nature, began to solicit their proper gratifications, and make her overlook the dangers with which she was threatened from his temper, who had put away a lawful Wife to make room for her. Some Writers have asserted, that, like *Agrippina*, who provoked her own Son to incest, with a view to secure her power, when she perceived the unwieldy habit of the King's body to be but ill suited to his impatience of having a male Heir, she judged her Brother the most proper person to procure this tie of her Husband's affections, without any risk of discovery.

covery. The Letters of *Henry* to her, which are still preserved in the *Vatican Library*, do no great honour to his passion; and there is one expression amongst others, as I well remember, below even the coarseness of *Thames-street Gallantry*. Whether his Mistress's qualities were unfit to raise a purer flame, or *Henry's* breast was not susceptible of more polite sensations, certain it is, that we rather discover the King to whom beastly *Skelton* was Laureat, than the man of elegance who invited over *Raphael* and *Michael-Angelo*. Her fate was considered not merely as a punishment, but as a divine judgment; and the crowd that thronged to the place of execution, gazed on her with unconcern, as a show they came to be spectators of, but in which they took no part. Her Pride, even then, did not forsake her; and she saw, with a disdainful air, the indifference with which the world gave her up; and assuming a haughtiness, which the infamy of the circumstances she lay under had not abated, she told them, "she died their Queen, whether they would or not." During her confinement, her broken speeches and whole behaviour had betrayed a wild and disordered mind, and all the dread of approaching death, without any sense of the guilt which had occasioned it. The Scene being now to close, and the Executioner, who, on account of his expertness, had been sent for from *Calais*, offering to bare her neck, on which he was so soon to perform a rougher office, she thrust him from her; and, turning to her Women, gave them a caution, which her own example had so little enforced, of behaving in such a manner as to keep their honour unstained. Then laying herself down on the scaffold, and preserving a decency she had been unmindful of on more important occasions, she drew her garments below her feet; and received

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ceived the stroke which finished a life of levity, error, and lewdness *.

A few months before this memorable catastrophe, *Catharine of Arragon* ended a life, the whole tenor of which had been as different from that of this unfortunate Woman, as the manner in which she concluded it. *Anne* had testified, on this occasion, a triumph inconsistent both with decency and humanity; and as the departed Queen was only mourned as Prince *Arthur's* Relict, she had distinguished herself by a dress, which insulted the memory of a Princess, whose virtues were as great a reproach to her conduct, as the legitimacy of her marriage had been a legal impediment to her pretensions. *Catharine* possessed, in an eminent degree, those qualities for which the *Spaniards* still hold her mother in veneration; and

* *Stow, Fuller, Burnet, Collier, Echard*, and our Historians in general, seem to agree in this character of *Anne Bullen*, as each of them relates some of the particulars here mentioned. *Sanders*, who was nearer those times, adds more; and *Gratiani*, Bishop of *Amelia*, a cotemporary Writer, who resided in *England*, and who was very conversant in what concerned it, omits not one of them. *Grat. de Casibus Virorum Illustrum sui ævi*, p. 266.

The whole of this account is greatly corroborated by what Lord *Herbert* relates of this unfortunate Woman, and still more by what he insinuates. (*Life of Henry VIII.* p. 381.) A Letter to the King, supposed to have been written by her, when she was in the *Tower*, is cited by our Historians; and given by Mr *Addison*, as an instance of that eloquence, by which Innocence in distress expresses itself. But she who was so well acquainted with the King's cruel and unrelenting temper, and yet declares on the scaffold, *that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince*, might, with as little regard to veracity, persist in the denial of a crime of which she stood convicted. The noble Historian abovementioned makes it very doubtful, whether the Letter itself be genuine, and says, he gives it the Reader without any other credit, than that it was said to be found among the Papers of *Cromwell*; and seemed ancient and consonant to the matter in question: yet this, as he confesses, was only a Copy, and he had never seen the Original.

and they had been cultivated by an education suited to the piety and softness of her own sex, and to the manly arts of government of ours. The King her husband, at the expedition against *Terouane*, left her Regent; and she defeated the *Scotch* army, at the battle of *Flooden*, where *James* the Fourth was slain; and shewed a prudence and resolution equal to such a trust. Nor was she more the *courageous woman*, celebrated for the confidence reposed in her, in public affairs, and when spoils were to reward her valour, than in those less equivocal instances of steadiness, an unwearied application to the duties of her station, as Consort, Queen, and Mother. She supported with patience the King's capriciousness, and the injury done to her bed; and behaved with a dignity, which, though it did not recal her husband's affections, yet would not allow him to deny her his esteem. The hardships of her latter years never betrayed her into any concession contrary to her Royal state, or prejudicial to her Daughter's rights, when every method was employed to make her derogate from each. Though treated with rigour by her Husband, and slighted by the Retainers of a Court, who look on no Index, on which Royal favour does not shine; the same greatness of mind supported her in so conspicuous a manner, that the Privy Council, in the Articles they drew up against her, were not ashamed to tax her with "an undaunted spirit, and a resolution that nothing could shake." This indeed must have appeared highly criminal in their eyes, whose abject condescension was the very reverse of that character with which they here reproach the Queen. In the spring of life, and amidst all the blandishments of the highest fortune, she had been mindful of her Creator; gave liberal alms; observed, with a penitential exactness,

Proverbs,
ch. xxxi.
ver. 11.

Eccles. ch.
xii. v. 1.

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Proverbs,
ch. xxxi.
ver. 19.

ness, the Fasts appointed by the Church; and spent several hours of the day in prayer, on her knees bared; and was a pattern of seriousness in the center of riot and dissolution. Like the accomplished Woman, whose portrait *Solomon* has drawn, she thought it no disparagement *to handle the spindle and distaff*, and taught the Ladies of the Court, by this example, to avoid Idleness; at the same time that she instructed them in those sublimer Virtues, which are so seldom the inhabitants of the seats of opulence. Being commanded to leave the palace, she retired to *Kimbolton*, where she passed the remainder of her life in such exercises of Religion as became her circumstances; and, being near her end, dictated a letter to the King, which shewed at once the composure of her mind, her conjugal affection, and care for the Princess *Mary*, the only offspring that survived her. The King did not refuse the tribute of a tear to the news of her death; and though he prosecuted the memory of her Rival with contempt and execration, he was not so totally lost to all sense of humanity and worth, as to deny his esteem to that of *Catharine of Arragon* *.

But to go back to REGINALD POLE; he had no sooner heard the disgraceful end of *Anne Bullen*, but he judged it a favourable circumstance to apply a remedy to evils, the cause of which was now removed. He observes, that every one foresaw the King at this juncture would either return to the laudable paths he had forsaken, or wander beyond all hopes of recovery. “For my

* She died on the 8th of *January*, 1536, and was buried, by the King's orders, in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*. *Stow*, *Fuller*, *Collier*, *Burnet*, *Echard*, *Hume*, to say nothing of the Roman Catholic Historians, are unanimous in her commendations.

my own part, says he, I was willing to expect a change answerable to the desperateness of his case, and that he would not be satisfied with a mediocrity in Virtue, after having so shamefully deserted her." He seized therefore the opportunity, and sent the Work, *On the Church's Unity*, to him; not doubting but he should be able to judge of the impression it made from his manner of receiving it. "In this, says he, I was not deceived; for he immediately sent back the person who carried the Work, and wrote to me by the same messenger. He endeavoured indeed to conceal his real sentiments; and let me know, with tolerable temper, that he was not displeased at what I had written, but because the debate was in a matter of great concern, and much might be said on each side of the question, it would be difficult to discuss it by letters. He ordered me therefore to return immediately to *England*, and added, he would admit neither of excuse or delay." *Cromwell* likewise, whose spiritual and temporal power was uncontroled, wrote to him to hasten his journey with the utmost expedition, as his arrival would be agreeable to the King, in proportion as it was speedy. This artifice must have lain *Henry* quite open, even to a less quick-sighted person than him for whom the snare was designed, as there was no change in his proceedings; and REGINALD says, he saw, like the cautious animal in the fable, the footsteps of those who went into the Lion's den, but none of any who came out *. His answer therefore was, "that he would return to his country, when he could do it with honour and safety."--- This was the substance of the letter; but several soothing things were intermixed, to take off the

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harshness

* Apol. ad Cæsarem, c. 6. Epist. 41. tom. 1. Epist. Reginaldi Poli.

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harshness of such a refusal: and the same courier, who was a domestic of REGINALD, and who had carried his Work to the King, was the bearer; for *Cromwell* had exacted a promise from him, to come back to *England*, though his Lord should not †.

Their impatience to have Him in their power was such, that before this messenger could arrive in *England*, *Cromwell* sent a second express, with a letter from himself, and another very prolix one, from *Tonstall*, Bishop of *Durham*. REGINALD, on the death of that unhappy Woman (so he styles *Anne Bullen*) and the report of *Tonstall* being taken into favour, having no reason to suspect his steady adherence to the ancient Religion, wrote to him, not to be wanting to his King and Country on so decisive an occasion. But the answer he now had from him, let him see he had never been more deceived than in his opinion of this Prelate's attachment to tenets which he then oppugned. Though he had not yet read the Work which REGINALD sent to the King, as appeared by his citing passages which were not alledged, and starting difficulties already answered, he undertook to refute it: and concluded, with a flourish of oratory, on the high esteem REGINALD was held in his country; on the King's liberality to him, and on the sentiments of his family and friends. These remonstrances, says he, made me bewail, with greater bitterness than before, my Country's misfortunes, and endeavour to convey to the King that truth, which so many measures contributed to extinguish.

Cromwell, who was now created a Baron, and made Privy-Seal, and Secretary of State, had made a very artful use of *Tonstall's* Treatise, which he

† Epist *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 1. pag. 470.

he accompanied with a letter to REGINALD, to the following purpose. "The reason, my Lord, says he, of my writing again to you so soon, is, that you might not be ignorant of the side which the Bishop of *Durham* has taken, with respect to the King's Supremacy; and may be induced yourself to embrace an opinion, which will be so much to your advantage. You have always considered this Prelate as your friend, and as a person of singular judgment and learning; and your late letters to him signify the same favourable disposition in his regard. This made me apprehensive, that if on your arrival in *England*, which I make no doubt will be very soon, you found him in different sentiments from those in which your letter supposes him, it might cause a shyness and surprise, which would give you uneasiness. To prevent this, I have forwarded, with the utmost expedition, what he wrote to you on this subject, that you may know the real sentiments of one who loves you intirely, but dissents from you in a point, in which you disagree with every one who would be thought to wish well to his Prince or Country. After having said this, it would be superfluous to add any thing by way of persuading you to conform to such Unanimity, or to set before you the risk you run in opposing it. For my own part, I cannot admit the least suspicion but that whatever you have done in this affair, has proceeded from the best of intentions; and if you can prevail on yourself to acquiesce in the general sentiments of those who love and honour you, I think I may take on myself to answer for pardon and oblivion of all that is past. The King, my Lord, will receive you with open arms, and place you in a higher degree of favour than you have yet held."

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Proverbs,
chap. i.
ver. 17.

held *." This was the contents of Cromwell's letter; but *though the Net be ever so fine, the Fowler spreads it in vain for a prey that has once escaped it.*

Henry likewise, foreseeing that REGINALD, notwithstanding all his schemes to insnare him, might not be prevailed on to put himself in his power, had let himself down to a sort of bargain, and ordered *Tonstall* to acquaint him, "that if it did not suit his convenience to come to *England*, he would urge it no more; but that he insisted on his destroying what he had written: and, if he complied with this request, he would not only exempt him from those punishments which the Laws of the Realm inflicted on all who refused to acknowledge his Supremacy; but allow him the enjoyment of his estate in whatever country he chose to reside: That the only condition he prescribed, was to abolish whatever he had already written, and promise never more to write, either against him or his edicts. And this engagement was to be sent under his hand and seal †." So powerful was the impression this Work made on the King and his Counsellors, and they deemed its suppression of such consequence to the cause they were engaged in, as to leave nothing untried to get both the performance and the Author in their own disposal. But before I mention the answer he gave to the Secretary's and Bishop *Tonstall*'s letters, it may be proper to report the judgment which other less interested Readers have passed on the Work.

The capital, and perhaps the only material, objection made to it, is a personal animosity and spirit

* Epist. Reg. Poli, pars 1. pag. 470.

† Epist. Reginaldi Poli ad Eduardum VI. Angliæ Regem, de Opere adversus Henricum Patrem scripto, cap. 25.

spirit of revenge, which is said to appear through the whole. The King's crimes are set forth in colours which naturally create aversion and horror; and the Author is accused, both in the facts he relates, and in his manner of relating them, frequently to forget that respect, from which no provocation, however atrocious, can exempt a Subject, when he treats with his Sovereign †. This was the complaint in *England* as soon almost as the Work was sent thither; and Bishop *Tonstall* declaimed against the Author on this head from the Pulpit at *St Paul's*. REGINALD justified himself, by observing, that the King could not be wrought on to enter into himself, but from the sole dread of having his actions seen in their real light: That this was equally evident from the fruitless efforts of milder methods, which had hitherto been applied, and the consciousness of guilt and infamy, which the late Work had awakened in his mind: That if a disinterested zeal for his welfare had not prevailed on him to write with frankness and spirit, and

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even

† This objection has been made with great bitterness by *Verger*, who having been Bishop of *Capo d'Istria*, became a *Lutheran*. He procured a copy of the Work, some years after it was written, and published it with the most virulent Notes. His chief invectives have no other foundation than his own mistake. REGINALD, in the third book, turns his discourse from the King to the Emperor, and continues through several pages in this figure; and *Verger* represents this diversion of speech as a separate Work sent to *Charles V.* with a view to animate him against *Henry*.

1554.

The argument was taken up, about five and twenty years ago, though with much more decency, by *Schelhorn*, public Professor at *Hamburg*: to whose candour we are indebted for the long, elegant, and entertaining letter of REGINALD POLE to *Edward VI.* which had never been published, (1 tom. *Amœnit. Hist. Eccl. et Liter.*)

Gardiner, *Tonstall*, and *Sampson*, attacked the dogmatical part of the Work; and the two last, with *Stokesley*, bestowed abuse very liberally on the Author.

THE HISTORY OF THE

even with an asperity, which, though the occasion required, was contrary to his own temper, the Work had been overlooked, and no further notice taken of it. As to the particular charge of hatred of his Prince; the reluctance he always shewed to any one seeing the Work, but him for whose warning he writ it, is all the justification he can stand in need of. *Priuli* and *Contareni*, the Revisers, were the only persons to whom he communicated it, before it was sent to *England*; and he had given the latter his reasons for the unwillingness he testified of its being shewn to *Clement VII.* Being afterwards treated with great distinction by his successor, *Paul III.* and lodged in the palace, that Pontiff, notwithstanding his repeated instances, had never been able to prevail on him to give him a sight of it: and, three years after, on his return from an Embassy in *Spain*, finding it had been printed in his absence, he got all the Copies into his own keeping. At length, the Work having been published in *Germany*, from a pirated Copy, with the most virulent Notes, he consented it should be published, and appear in his own name: but this happened several years after *Henry's* death; so little share had hatred and revenge, passions with which *REGINALD's* breast was unacquainted, either in penning or publishing this performance.

1555.

Some years after, he wrote a Preface, which is imperfect, by which he addresses the Work to *James V. King of Scotland.* A Copy of it is preserved among the *Vatican Manuscripts*; but whether it was ever finished, and sent to the Prince with the Work it was designed to accompany, does not appear. It begins by a very copious commendation of the *Scotish King's* and his People



ples steadiness in the faith of their Ancestors, notwithstanding the defection of an allied and neighbouring Kingdom. The CARDINAL particularly extols a remarkable proof of the King's zeal in that cause; for having perceived by the title of some books, very richly ornamented, which the King of *England* had sent a present to him, that they tended to recommend the measures he pursued, he threw them into the fire, in the presence of him who brought them, saying, "it was better he should destroy them, than they him."-- He adds, that as the like attempts were still carrying on, and it could not be expected that all his Subjects would act with the like caution, he sent him a Work he wrote some years ago, that it might be published under his protection, and be a preservative to all who did not shut their eyes to truth.---- He then enters on *Cromwell's* conduct, much in the same manner as in his Apology to *Charles V.* but as the sequel of the Preface is wanting, what more could be said of it, must be furnished only from conjecture*.

The Work *on the Church's Unity* is now become scarce; a fate which has attended many others, which have nothing to recommend them to trifling and unprofitable curiosity. But those, whom passion or prejudice has not prevented from examining the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulness with which they are employed, have entertained the same opinion of the Performance, which the Author, notwithstanding his modesty, when he speaks of himself, has expressed in the following words. "It has been my endeavour, says he, to ascertain the Primacy and Indefectibility of the See of *Rome*, not only against all those who have hitherto denied it, but against all future

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* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 1. pag. 172.

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Opposers, who may be various and in great number *.

He answered *Tonstall's* letter, which he says was rather a Volume than an Epistle, by replying to each Article, in which he had attacked the Work; and “by telling him, it was to little purpose for either of them to carry on a Controversy, in which, like the Builders of *Babel*, they did not understand each other: that, what he termed a proper obedience to the See of *Rome*, *Tonstall* called a slavish subjection: what one looked on as the re-establishment of the purity of Religion, the other esteemed its subversion: and those whom *Tonstall* depreciated as enemies to their King and Country, he esteemed their truest and best friends:” and then, addressing his discourse both to the Bishop and Lord *Cromwell*, “in this state of confusion, says he, I am sensible of the right my Country has to all the aid I can lend it: and though the King should be forsaken by all, who, either through hope or fear, combine to betray him, there will yet be One superior to the influence of such motives. As to the beneficial circumstances of life, with which my silence and passive behaviour was to be purchased, my contempt of them, in comparison of my zeal for his Majesty, shall be the return I make Him for my education; the discharge of what my Country may claim of me; and,

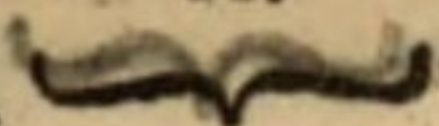
* *Epistola ad Priolum*, 8°. Cal. Oct. 1535.

Bishop *Burnet* says, this Work was more esteemed for the high quality of the Author, than for sound reasoning. But the Bishop is a bold Asserter, and what has been already said, refutes this peremptory decision.

Vergier, though he commented on it with all the acrimony of an Adversary; yet, in his Preface, gives the following advantageous testimony of the Performance; *Scripti Hic libros quatuor de Unitate Ecclesiasticâ; in quos, quicquid unquam ab ullo scriptum pro Pontifice acutè et callidè et subtiliter fuit, undique congeffit, magnis eloquentiæ luminibus.*

and, above all, of what I owe to my own Character, as a Christian †."

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The Courier, who was to return with these letters, was not yet set out, when REGINALD received the Pope's orders to repair to *Rome*: wherefore, that he might maintain the same ingenuous candor towards *Henry*, with which he had hitherto behaved, he informed him of the Pontiff's orders; and because he knew they would be displeasing, he sent him copies of the Pope's brief and his answer; to satisfy him, that he had no share in this measure: and dispatched the Express, who had orders to return with the same speed he came, that is, says REGINALD, by Relays on the road; the ordinary Post being of a later date.

The Pope had already invited REGINALD to *Rome*; but as he had always declined going, he now laid his positive commands on him, and precluded every pretext of a refusal, by communicating to him the business in which he wanted his assistance, though as yet he had no personal knowledge of him, and was chiefly acquainted with his character from the advantageous account which *Contareni* had given him of it. He answered his Holiness, therefore, "by commending his design of calling a general Council, and bringing to *Rome*, as a previous measure to it, persons of known abilities to concert means of facilitating a happy issue to so necessary and arduous an undertaking. Though he acknowledged himself unequal to such a task, yet he had the event too much at heart, and bore him, from whom the orders came, too great respect, not to repair where he was commanded. But I am surprised, says he, holy Father, how you came to find me out, as I have lived in a private station, and thought of

Per dispositos equos.

† Epist. R. Poli, pars. i. pag. 474.

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of nothing less than being called out to public life. Had other reasons for treating me with such distinction been wanting, (which is by no means the case) yet, as you had formerly invited me to be near your person, and I had always found some excuse to elude your gracious purposes in my regard, this behaviour alone might have caused you not only to lay aside any further thought of giving me fresh marks of your favour, but even to refuse, if I had sued for them. ---- But a consideration of another kind occurs to me on this occasion, which is the displeasure I foresee this journey will give a Prince, to whom I have all the obligations which a Subject can stand charged with to his King, or a Child to a Parent. As he will imagine I am going to renew a cause, which separated him from the Church, after having deserved better of her than any other Sovereign, I cannot think of taking this journey without the utmost anguish. For though the prospect his life now yields be ever so unpromising, yet when I call to mind his princely dispositions, and the expectation he raised in his happier years; and reflect, that all human virtue, in whatever degree, may be blasted by too great prosperity, I cannot cease to hope, but those early seeds of virtue will again rear their heads, and bud forth to his Glory, who is the Author of them †." ---- Were other proofs wanting, this alone verifies what *Manutius* says of REGINALD, "that his mind was pure from all ambition and malevolence, and that his countenance and discourse were a perpetual index of the candor and uprightness of his intentions §." About this time, *Charles V.* was expected in *Italy*, to be crowned by the Pope; and as REGINALD

† Epist. R. Poli, tom. i. p. 467. Epist. ad Paulum III.

§ Epist. ad Saulum, li. i.

REGINALD POLE omitted no opportunity of being serviceable to the common cause of Christianity, he used the most pressing terms to *Priuli* to prevail on *Contareni*, who was then at *Rome*, and had great authority with the Emperor, to exert it on this occasion; "and if I knew, says he, any stronger bond than the love of our Redeemer, which connects heaven and earth, I would conjure you by it." He adds, that he should not write in this stile, if he had a less veneration for *Contareni*, than he should have for *Ambrose*, was he then living; or was not persuaded that his interest with the present Emperor was as great as that celebrated Prelate's had been with *Theodosius**.—But though there was a remarkable resemblance between the Archbishop of *Milan* and Cardinal *Contareni*, there was very little between the two Emperors, in whose reign they lived; and the narrow, selfish and tricking temper of *Charles* was as different from the openness, generosity, and christian spirit of *Theodosius*; as the eloquence, mildness, and consummate skill in business, joined to an invariable attachment to whatever was laudable, were similar in him, who, from being Governor of *Gaul*, had been assumed to one of the chief Sees of Christendom; and him, who, from the weightiest concerns of the state of *Venice*, was raised to the Purple.

REGINALD, in obedience to *Paul* the third's orders, was now set out from *Venice* in his way to *Rome*, when a Courier from *England* overtook him at *Verona*. The news of his journey had already reached the King's ears, and the Courier came furnished with every argument to disconcert it: Lord *Cromwell* expressed himself by nothing but threats and invectives: *Tonstall* renewed his objec-

* Epist. R. Poli, pars 1. pag. 450.

objections to the Papal authority; but the other letters, he says, were eloquent indeed, being from the Countess of *Salisbury*, his Mother, and his Brother Lord *Montague*, in which they intreated him by all the ties of duty and affection to desist from a step which was so displeasing to the King; and, if he persisted in it, they renounce all friendship and connection with him. The call of Nature is too powerful not to be heard by well-disposed minds, however commendable the motives may be for not yielding to it: and REGINALD confesses these remonstrances of persons so dear to him, staggered his resolution, and made him think of giving up all thoughts of *Rome*, not doubting but the Pope would admit of so plausible an excuse. His Companions on the road were the *Theatin* Cardinal, who was afterwards raised to the Papacy by the name of *Paul IV.* *Matthew Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, *Sadolet*, and some others, to whom he communicated the doubts and anxieties he laboured under. They all pleaded the importance of the commission, on which the Pope was about to employ him; the great utility he might procure his Country in the execution of it; and the example, which was particularly expected from him, of deference to that Authority, which his writings had so well enforced. These arguments determined him to pursue his journey. In consequence of this resolution, he wrote to Lord *Cromwell*, that he was not to be frightened into any compliance, which he could not justify to himself: he took the trouble to unravel all the intricacies of *Tonstall's* labyrinth: And, by the most dutiful and affectionate letters to his Mother and his family, he endeavoured to satisfy them on the obligation he lay under, on this occasion, to supercede their intreaties. At *Bologna* he dismissed the

Courier,

Courier, who, at leaving *England*, had been obliged to make oath, he would set out as soon as he had received his orders*. ---- It must give the highest idea of REGINALD POLE, to see the King and Ministers of a powerful Nation entirely taken up with a private person, who had no means to annoy them, but his personal merit; and had received no other provocation, than the antipathy of good to bad. --- Soon after the departure of the *English* Messenger, he sent an Express from *Siena* to *Contareni*, by which he informs him of the abovementioned particulars, and tells him withal, "he is well assured, that as soon as his Adversaries perceive they could not gain him by persuasion, they will make no difficulty of attempting his life at any rate; that, for his own part, it could not happen sooner than he desired, if the public good might be advanced by such a sacrifice †." The event verified the prediction.

8th Oct.
1536.

REGINALD, on his arrival at *Rome*, was lodged in the Pope's Palace, who provided every thing for his safety and dignity. This Pontiff was of the *Farnesian* family, and succeeded *Clement VII.* He had summoned to *Rome* some persons of great abilities in order to effect a reform of manners, the decay of which, in all states, was but too visible. These Commissioners were nine in number, our countryman included, five of whom accompanied him on his journey; with all which, except *Frigose*, Archbishop of *Salernum*, he had personal connections. *Contareni*, who had lately been honoured with the Purple, was the Adviser of this salutary scheme, and had the principal direction of it. He was of opinion that his Associates should set down separately their sentiments on

* Epist. R. Poli, pars I. pag. 470.

† Epist. R. Poli, pars I. p. 483.

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on each subject which was to be debated. But *Cortefius* desired *REGINALD* to dissuade him from this design: for though he was satisfied, that the candor of all who were concerned in the undertaking was such, that they would judge of each other's performance with as great impartiality, and perhaps greater, than of their own; yet, he said, he thought it their duty to abstain from every thing, which, in its remotest tendency, might prejudice that perfect harmony which subsisted between them: that if *Contareni* was desirous of making an experiment of the abilities of his Colleagues, it might be done with less risk, by proposing different subjects to each of them.

Though the Commissioners discharged their trust with a zeal answerable to their parts and probity, yet many and various difficulties occurred when that was to be reduced to Practice, which till then had been the object of Theory only. The temper of the times seemed ill suited to the change which was projected; and though the distempered manners of the Christian World called aloud for a remedy, yet there was no favourable Crisis in which it could be applied with a prospect of success. *Nicholas* of *Schomberg*, furnished the Cardinal of *Capua**, to whom the Plan, by the Pope's orders, had been privately communicated, seems to have given the decisive negative against its being published. He represented to his Holiness, that the reformation of Christendom was an affair of such high importance, that it should be undertaken and recommended by the concurrent authority of all the national Churches of which that body is composed,

* He was a *Dominican*, and on account of his rare merit, had been raised to the Purple by *Leo X.* amongst the few works he left, one is a discourse on the death of *Sir Thomas More.*

posed, rather than by the Papal authority alone: and he advised a delay, till it could be referred to a general Council *.

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REGINALD was not yet in holy Orders; he had not, as has been observed elsewhere, received even the Clerical tonsure, by which those are initiated who design themselves for the Clergy; and he only belonged to that profession by the benefices he enjoyed, and a life which would have done honour to any degree in it. He was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and the youngest of all the Associates in the late undertaking: and though they were men of the first character for learning and probity, yet he was the directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the Plan of Reformation, the substance of which had been the joint labours of them all: and when it was printed some years after, it appeared in his name, without any mention of his Collegues.

Lord *Herbert* speaks with great commendation of this performance, and refers his Readers to a Work where it may be found. He observes, that the Plan here laid down gave occasion to rectify several abuses in the Church; and that religious Controversies, in general, though they produce great evils, have one good effect, that they make men more careful, lest personal faults should redound to the discredit of the Religion they profess; and are a caution for virtue and good example. This he says with an allusion to the new Doctrines which were then broached in Germany and elsewhere; and which the noble Author supposes

Life of
Hen. VIII.
p. 426.
Sleid.
Com. 1.
12.

* *Pallavicini*, Hist. Con. *Trid.* lib. 4. c. 5. The plan of reformation was printed at Rome, by *Bladi*, in 1538, and inserted, by *Crabbius*, into the collection of Councils; though omitted, as *Possevin* complains, in the latter one of *Surius*. Perhaps, as it wanted the sanction of public authority, he might not think it proper to give it a place in that Work.

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poses to have awakened in the Catholic Church an attention to the manners of her own Communion, particularly of the Clergy and the Court of *Rome*.

But though the Pope had lain aside any further thoughts of this affair, he gave a great instance of zeal and prudence in what was likely to have an immediate influence on the morals of the Clergy, where a change was loudly called for, and where it was but fitting it should begin. He was sensible the Sacred College should be composed of persons whose examples might recal the ancient splendor of the Priesthood; and, being about to fill the vacant places, amongst other persons of distinguished merit, he thought no one would add more lustre to the Purple than our Countryman.

The Pope's intention was universally applauded, and by none more than *Contareni*, who had the chief place in his confidence, and by the Ambassador and Creatures of *Charles V.* though from views as different, as the character of this Cardinal and that of the Emperor. The approbation of the former proceeded from real value and love of the person to whom the honour was intended, and a prospect of the advantage that would accrue to the public: the others gave out indeed, that this promotion would give the affairs of *England* a more favourable turn, and might bring them to a happy issue. But *Becatelli*, REGINALD'S Secretary, has assigned a reason more suited to the genius of Courts, and therefore more probable; that, by this means, an opinion would be removed, which several persons were possessed of, that the Princess *Mary*, *Henry's* daughter, might, one time or other, choose REGINALD for her Husband, from the singular affection both she, and the late Queen

Queen her Mother, had borne him from his infancy. SECT.
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REGINALD was the only person who opposed this promotion: he signified to the Pope, with his usual freedom, that nothing could be so ill timed as such a step: that it would make him forfeit all his interest in *England*, where he must appear a Partisan of the Pope, and of the Court of *Rome*; and would endanger the lives and fortunes of all that belonged to him: he, therefore, intreated his Holiness to defer, to a more seasonable occasion, this mark of his goodness, which, whenever it was conferred, would be equally honourable. The Pope seemed satisfied with his reasons; and “I, says *Becatelli*, was witness to the real joy this declaration gave him.” The following day the Pope came to the Consistory, and, whether he had been prevailed on by the Imperialists, or of his own motion, he changed his mind, and ordered the Chamberlain it waiting to go to REGINALD, with orders for him to receive immediately the Clerical tonsure, and accept the Purple. “I was also present, says the same *Becatelli*, when this message came, and as it was quite unlooked for, instead of rejoicing, it abashed and afflicted him; but as the command was peremptory, and required present compliance, he submitted to the dignity, rather than accepted it.”

S E C T. III.

*His Embassies and Employments in public Life.
He replies to a Letter from both Houses of
Parliament.*

S E C T.
III.

Cardo.

THE dignity of CARDINAL, like all other distinctions amongst mankind, has worn various appearances since its first institution. The appellation was transferred from the State to the Church; and, amongst the Officers of the Emperor *Theodosius*, there is mention made of Generals and Governors of Provinces, who are stiled *Cardinals*, because they filled the most illustrious and important charges of the Empire. The name was derived from the *Latin* language, and denotes a certain analogy to a hinge on which the door moves, and a mutual connection and fitness of the office and the person who is to discharge it. Saint *Gregory* the Great, being informed that the Church of *Aleria* in *Corfica* was vacated, wrote to *Leo*, a Bishop of that Island, to administer the Diocese till he had provided it with a Pastor, who was to be the *Cardinal* Bishop of it: and, writing to the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons of *Naples*, he approves of their desire to have *Paul*, Bishop of *Nessi*, who was the Administrator of their Diocese, for their *Cardinal* Bishop. From these and other passages in this Pope's letters, it appears, that in his time every Bishop, who by his ordination is attached to a particular Church, was reputed the *Cardinal* of it. The same is to be said of Priests and Deacons, with regard to their respective titles and benefices.

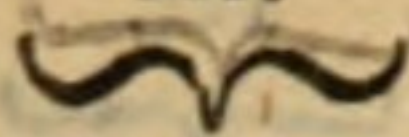
benefices. For the opposite reason, those whom the Popes appointed Patrons in foreign Provinces, or their Residents at *Constantinople*, and Ambassadors at other Courts, though they were Deacons of the Church of *Rome*, were not *Cardinals*. This appellation, when given to the inferior Clergy, though it principally denoted the Parochial Priests, who are fixed to a determinate Parish, and administer the Sacraments; belonged likewise to such as performed divine Service in the Palaces of the Great, because they also derived a title from these Chapels and Oratories, and bore a relation to them. In this manner there were *Cardinal* Bishops, Priests and Deacons, throughout all the Dioceses of the Christian world; and the Pope, in quality of Bishop of the particular See of *Rome*, was likewise deemed its *Cardinal*. The *Cardinal* Priests of *Rome* consisted of the Parochial Clergy of the same City, or of those who served some determinate place of public Worship. The *Cardinal* Deacons, and even the Under or Sub-Deacons, had also a local title, by virtue of which they exercised their functions. Nor was this the state of the Church of *Rome* in Saint Gregory's time only, but almost 400 years after it.

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III.Defenso-
res.Apocrifi-
arii.TOME
III

The same regulations were common to other Churches. I shall instance this observation with respect to those of *France*. The Council of *Metz* ordains, that Bishops should regulate, according to the Canons, the *Cardinal* Titles which were appropriated to different Churches; and *Tibald*, Bishop of *Soissons*, when he ratified the foundation of the Abbey of *St John*, made by *Hugh*, Lord of *Chateau-Thierry*, reserves to himself and his successors the jurisdiction, as it had been anciently exerted, over the *Cardinal* Priest of the place, which was one of the twelve Parishes of

Can. 54.

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Soissons and the neighbourhood: and this foundation is confirmed, under the same restriction, by *Philip I.* in the year 1076. The ancient Ritual of the Church of *Troyes* in *Champaign*, shews that the Bishop of that See had thirteen *Cardinal Priests*, whose Parishes are there set down, to assist him, on *Maundy-Thursdai*, at the consecration of the holy Oils, and at the solemn Benediction of the Baptismal fonts, on the eves of *Easter* and *Pentecost*. And, as a farther exemplification of this Discipline, there have always been in the Abbey of *St Remigius* at *Rheims*, four Monks, with the title of *Cardinals*, because on solemn days they officiated at the high Altar.

Presbyteri
sui ordi-
nis.

The *Cardinal Priests* and *Deacons* of *Rome* were at first chiefly distinguished by the great part they had in all affairs which were brought before the Pope, whom they likewise attended in the public ceremonies of Religion; and on that account are said by *Leo IV.* to belong particularly to him. The Bishops of *Rome* were generally chosen out of their Order, and seldom from the Episcopal, as it has since been the practice: and the Successor of *Formosus* even ordered the bones of his Predecessor to be taken up, and repealed all his Decrees, because, contrary to the Canons, being Bishop of *Ostia*, he had been raised to the Papacy. As the Popes were chosen from the *Cardinal Clergy* of *Rome*, this body had likewise the principal share in these elections; and at length were alone invested with the authority of giving a supreme Head to the Church. This was established in a Council of *Rome*, under *Nicholas III.* in the year 1059.

The eminence of the See of *Rome* gave her *Hierarchy* a beauty and splendor, which, by gradual advances, effaced every thing else. This Capital of the Christian world, which, from the
Seat

Seat of Empire, was become the Center of Religion, contained within her precincts five Churches, which were all considered as so many Cathedrals of the Pope, as he is the Patriarch of the West. These were *St Peter's* in the *Vatican*, *St Mary Major's*, *St Paul's*, *St Lawrence's*, and *St John Lateran*; and to each of the four first, seven *Cardinal Priests* were attributed, who derived their titles from the most ancient Parochial Churches of *Rome*; and are enumerated by *Ba-* ^{ad annum} *ronius*, from a Ritual preserved in the *Vatican* Library. But the Church of *St John*, being by way of excellence the Pope's Cathedral, had the six neighbouring Bishops of *Ostia*, *Porto*, *Albano*, *Frescati*, *Sabina*, and *Palestrina*, who are always *Cardinals*, and have no other title but that of their respective Dioceses annexed to her. The Bishoprick of *Sylva candida*, which formerly was a distinct Diocese and Title, is now united to that of *Porto*. These Prelates were Suffragans to the Western Patriarch, and, on account of their proximity and attendance on him, were stiled his *Collaterals*, and *Hebdomadaries*. Each of them had his week to assist him in the divine Service, or to perform it in his stead, which occasioned short absences from their own Sees.

The Popes in latter ages have thought fit to communicate the dignity of *Cardinal* of the Church of *Rome*, to other Bishops besides the six abovementioned. *Conrad*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, is said to have been the first who received this honour from *Alexander II.* which was likewise conferred, by the same Pontiff, on *Sala* of *Milan*, in 1165. The custom was afterwards introduced of creating foreign Bishops *Cardinals*, by the stile and title of the ancient Parochial or other Churches of *Rome*; by which means those who were Bishops and Primates in their respective

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Provinces, were, in quality of *Cardinals*, considered only according to the rank of their creation. Thus *William* Archbishop of *Rheims* was created Cardinal of *St Sabina*, which is a Priestly title only, by *Clement III.* and his Successors have retained the same usage, and made it customary.

The ancient number of the Deacons of *Rome* was seven: they were afterwards increased to fourteen; and then to eighteen. They were called *Cardinal* Deacons, to distinguish them from others who had no such title, by virtue of which they officiated. At present there are only fourteen, to whom the dignity of *Cardinal* is annexed: these, with the fifty *Cardinal* Priests, and six Bishops, make up the sacred College, which number it never exceeds. For mankind being prone to set a value on things, on account of their being rare, and removed from obvious attainment, it has been the wise polity of the Court of *Rome*, to observe this caution in favour of this illustrious Body, and to cast round it all those decencies which raise and secure respect. The same reserve as to the number of the Knights Companions, no less than priority of institution, has made the Order of the Sovereign of *Great Britain* more honourable than those of all other Princes in *Europe*, which have been communicated with less frugality, whereas this has been confined to its original Few.

The great accession of temporal power to the See of *Rome*, and the extent of her spiritual jurisdiction, which still became more wide, as the Gospel spread itself over the whole earth, shewed the expediency of a change in some points of her primitive Discipline. A great and perpetual Council, consisting of various Departments, became necessary for the proper dispatch of such a mul-

multiplicity of affairs; and it was thought proper it should be composed of such of the *Roman* Clergy, who, by not having any necessary local connections, might be free to give their time and attention to the general concerns of the Church. *Cardinal* Priests and Deacons therefore were no longer looked upon as Residentiaries of the Churches, whose title they bore; and, as *Cardinal* Bishops, became the Pope's *Suffragans*. The two first Orders were chosen from all ranks of the Clergy throughout Christendom; and the ancient Titles of the Churches of *Rome* conferred on the persons thus chosen, without any obligation of Residence; though the third Order, which is made up of Bishops, is subject to it. On this establishment REGINALD POLE was first created CARDINAL of the Church of the Saints *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, who were put to death in the persecution of *Trajan*; and was afterwards promoted to that of *St Mary in Cosmedin*. The first is an ancient title, in which *St Gregory* the Great pronounced his twenty-eighth Homily on the Gospels; and since our Countryman possessed it, has been the Title of the Historian *Baronius*, who rebuilt the Church.

This Senate of the Universal Church being composed of Members of different nations, who are distinguished either by birth, or their eminent personal qualifications, its authority at all times has been very great, and it has been considered as the common Council of the Christian World. The appellation of *Pope*, which, for five or six hundred years, had been given to all Bishops, though with a subordination to those of *Rome*, began to be appropriated to them alone: and the title of *Cardinal*, which had been borne by all Priests and Deacons, with respect to those

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Incardi-
nati; the
term is
used by
Vitruvius.

those Churches, into which, as so many *Grooves*, to use *St Gregory's* expression, they were let in and riveted, became the peculiar denomination of those of *Rome*; and they hold the highest rank in the Catholic Church. The greatest Potentates esteem it an honour to have their Brothers and Sons enrolled amongst them: they have frequently guided the Councils of the different States of *Europe*, with great commendation of wisdom and ability; and have been employed with success in the most arduous and important negotiations: and, which is a reflection still more honourable to themselves, and of greater edification to others, Christianity has had in them some of her most able and learned Defenders, and most zealous and regular Prelates. All the Catholic Kingdoms and States of *Europe* are in that kind of relation to the sacred College, which Clients bear to their Patrons; and each of them chooses one of its Members as a Protector. And whoever has seen the whole Body assist the Pope on solemn occasions, must have been struck with the same sentiment with the Foreigner, who, on beholding the majesty of the *Roman Senate*, said, he had seen a *Synod of Kings*.

Their very dress on solemn occasions became by degrees expressive of their dignity, and of what those engaged themselves to who were invested with it. *Innocent IV.* in a Council held at *Lyons* in 1242, distinguished it by the Scarlet Hat: and *Paul II.* in 1462, extended that colour to their other garments; though, at some seasons of the Ecclesiastical year, they wear Violet or pale Red. The flowing ease and shape of the upper Robes is equally graceful and majestic; and the Scarlet colour, which is usually worn, was intended to remind them, that their steadiness in supporting the cause of the Gospel,

and following His example, whose Vicegerent they represent, should be proof to all difficulties, though at the risk of shedding their blood *.

This brief account of the origin and institution of *Cardinals*, appeared a necessary introduction to the following part of his History, who is henceforward to be considered in that Character; and to enable the Reader to judge, through a various and intricate series of transactions, of the fitness and propriety of his behaviour, by first unravelling the principles on which it proceeded. The object of History being no less to convey instruction, than to record facts; as the station in which a chief Actor is placed, gives a peculiar mode to his manners and conduct, something was to be said of the first, that these may be seen in their real light. It may likewise contribute to remove those prejudices, which the causeless spleen of a mere *English* Reader is apt to conceive at the very name of *Cardinal*, and may prevail on him to turn his mind from sounds to things.

That REGINALD POLE considered the Purple with a propriety of thought becoming what has been said of it, will appear from the slightest knowledge of his character. The prior part of his life, though passed without any view to this dignity, seems all designed by Providence as a preparation to those trials, by which he was to fill up the measure of the duties of it: and that these were his sentiments, after he was raised to it, his whole subsequent conduct is a proof beyond reply. We cannot indeed have a more unexceptionable voucher of his dispositions than himself;

* What has been here said, is chiefly taken from *Bellarmino's Controv. tom. 2. b. 1. ch. 16. Maimbourg's Histoire du Pontificat de Saint Gregoire*; and from the Treatise, *De l'Origine de Cardinaux*.

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himself; nor could they be expressed with greater energy than in his own words, in a letter to the Pope, where, after giving him an account of the price which the King of *England* had set on his head, he delivers himself in the following manner: "Who therefore can secure me from such a Foe? The same Almighty Being, who now affords me great tranquillity, and exempts me from all fear of what men can do; who commands me to acquit myself of the obligations which the character I bear brings along with it, and to leave every thing else to his Providence. No one ever found this trust to be vain, and his protection has always screened those, who place their confidence in him, from every kind of harm. Now my duty as a CARDINAL, as a member of the sacred College, is not only not to shun danger, when my Saviour's honour and his cause calls me to it, but to offer myself to all hazards, though at the peril of my own safety and life. This is the Inheritance we have received from those illustrious Cardinals of the Church, the *Apostles*, whose Successors we glory to be; and who were fearless, though the power of the whole earth was armed against them, for maintaining that cause in which we are engaged. I had a lively impression of all this before I was received into the Order; and the same divine hand, which then imparted the sentiment, has since retraced it in every faculty of my soul; and, when I set out from *Rome*, placed all these difficulties before my sight. If at present he thinks fit to exercise me in them, what have I to fear? ought I not rather to rejoice, that having the same cause in common with those great men, I may hope to have the same Protector, and be intitled to the same reward?"

The
Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 1. pag. 55.

The new CARDINAL was complimented by letters from several persons of distinguished rank and merit. Every one considered this promotion as an honour to the Pontificate in which it happened, and to the sacred College, into which he was adopted. It was moreover looked upon as an earnest of that Reformation, which was loudly called for on all sides; the necessity of which was but too visible from the errors which every where sprung up, from the decay of discipline in the Clergy, and the corruption in the manners of Christians in general. *Paul III.* who then filled *St Peter's* Chair, was a Prince of the *Farnesian* family; and, besides other instances of his regard for the public good, had shewn a caution and sagacity in the choice he made of those, who were to compose the supreme Council of the Church, worthy the chief Magistracy he bore in it. Their names alone are a proof how well they deserved this dignity; and three of them were successively raised to the Popedom. The famous Satirist *Aretini* acknowledges this discernment and care to have been the deserved commendation of this Reign. It has indeed been objected to this part of *Paul's* character, that he conferred the Purple on some of his own family, at an age which seems immature for that dignity: but if the care he took to have them instructed in every thing which became their Princely extraction, and the just hopes he had conceived from the elevation of their genius, be taken into the account, his behaviour in this particular will either not appear unbecoming the other parts of his conduct, or must be placed amongst those weaknesses which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation. The abilities which *Alexander Farnese* displayed very early in solemn embassies, soon justified

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justified the opinion the Pope had of him: and his own sense and love of merit appeared to great advantage, in the veneration in which he always held our Countryman; and the manner in which, at this Pope's demise, he exerted himself to have him chosen in his place. The friendship and zeal of the latter for a person so nearly related to his Benefactor, appears in the advice which, on several important occasions, he gave this young Prince, with a dignity and good-will to which his riper years and experience gave both a sanction and weight.

Amongst other letters written to REGINALD on his late promotion, twelve have come down to us; two of which have an air of elegance and good sense in so unusual a degree on such a subject, that the Reader cannot but be entertained with them. The first is from the Doge of *Venice*, *Andrew Gritti*, and was delivered to the CARDINAL at *Rome*, by the Ambassador of that State, on the part of the Republic, and is as follows. "Nothing, says the *Doge*, could have given the Republic and myself greater satisfaction than the news we received, a few days ago, of your advancement to the Purple. You cannot doubt of our sincere joy on this occasion, as it is nothing more than the result of that esteem and affection we have ever borne you. At the same time it affords us ample matter of applauding the goodness and wisdom of the Pope in making such a choice. To the many and great instances of paternal regard which he had already given the Christian world, he has added this of making you a Member of the sacred College, and associating to you persons like yourself, that is, recommended by every ornament which learning and sanctity of manners can bestow; and has testified his own sense of merit, by the illustrious marks with

with which he has distinguished yours. On this title alone, had others been wanting, he must have been deemed to have deserved well of Christianity. He could not have given a more authentic testimony to your virtues, than by placing them in so fair a light; nor to others a more complete pattern of a cultivated mind, and an irreproachable life, than by proposing you as an Example of both. Our congratulation, therefore, must needs be grounded on the best of motives, as the subject of it is the great and personal merit, which makes you equal to the dignity you are invested with, and enables you to exert it in the common cause of mankind. Our earnest wishes are, that the same all-good and all-powerful Being, from whom this honour, and the qualifications which intitle you to it, are originally derived, may continue to prosper and augment the blessings he has already conferred. But as the kind and advantageous sentiments we feel in your regard, cannot be brought within the compass of a letter, we have ordered our Ambassador to inlarge himself on what is here said, and declare more fully the Republic's and my dispositions in your regard *."

The other letter is from one, who, by force of genius, raised himself from a low condition to the highest consideration in the learned world; and had been so much distinguished by our Countryman, during his stay at *Padua*, as to be admitted into his family. This extraordinary personage was *Bonamico*, of whom mention has been already made, the son of a Clown at *Bassano*. He begins by observing, "that he is doubtful whether he ought chiefly to congratulate the CARDINAL or Religion itself on his promotion; but that there was ample matter for both.

* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 1. pag. 2.

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both. He was now placed on an eminence, from which the influence of his virtues might be felt by all, and point out to them the charms and dignity of unaffected Piety; at the same time that Religion had an earnest, that hereafter merit, and not the gifts of fortune, as it had hitherto seemed, would be the path to honour. That, although the same deference had been paid some time before, to the singular excellence of *Contarini*, yet the Pontiff's dispositions were not sufficiently attested, as his views in that promotion were variously interpreted: but now, as his constancy in referring every thing to the welfare of Christianity was so well supported, every one conceived the justest hopes of seeing the dignity, to which he was raised, become more august and venerable. That, if this method had been formerly pursued, the sacred College would have always preserved the authority it once enjoyed. -- Many things, says he, might be added on this head, as arguments that REGINALD's promotion was the choice of God himself, who had placed him as a Watchman of the common-weal, and enlightened him to consider the public welfare as the most inviolable of all trusts, and which ought to be dearer to us than we are to ourselves. The generous ardor of his soul made such remonstrances needless: he had already shewn an heroic resolution in submitting to the severest trials, and seeing his family share those disgraces which persecuted him; but Providence seemed to preserve his life, that he might assert the rights of injured Religion; and, by his singular erudition, his copious and manly eloquence, and a life worthy the best and happiest ages, restore her ancient splendor. --- He wanted therefore no foreign encouragement to perform what the goodness of his own dispositions, and the views

of Heaven prompted him to: yet, though his prudence was no ways inferior to his other qualifications, the importance of such a life, and the many considerations which were interested in its preservation, made it necessary that he should guard it, with greater caution, against the iniquity of his enemies, and reserve himself for the good of mankind. That this was the only change desired in his conduct, as the other parts of it were such, that they could not be changed for the better *."

Besides the letters already mentioned, there is a particular passage in a third, which the CARDINAL received on the same occasion; which affords an opening to say something of *Erasmus*, who is mentioned with distinction in it, and who died a few months before the time I am speaking of. The letter is from *Stanislaus Hosius*; and, amongst other instances of the Writer's good sense, and the high esteem he had for the Person, in whose promotion he took so sincere a part, he tells him, "that one of the chief topics of congratulation, was his being associated to persons of such merit as *Sadolet* and *Contareni*; and that he could not have failed of having the late Bishop of *Rocheſter* and *Erasmus* his fellows in the same dignity, were they still living †." This was not the first indication *Hosius* had given of his sense of *Erasmus*'s merit. Having finished his studies, and being to leave *Padua*, he was desirous to take *Basil* in his way to *Poland*, on no other motive than to converse with so celebrated a Personage. As he afterwards became a more competent Judge

12th July,
1536.

* Epist. R. Poli, pag. 10. ep. 8.

† Etsi quid potissimum tibi gratuler, nescio; an quod cum *Sadoletis* et *Contarenis* cooptatus es, *Roffenses* quoque et *Erasmus* Collegas habiturus, nisi crudelis mors hunc illis honorem invidisset. *Ibid.* pag. 17. ep. 12.

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Judge of his character and writings, he seems to have lain aside the prepossessions of his earlier years; for, speaking to the Reformers, “he desires them to give ear to one who had been long conversant with them, and was thought by several not very averse to their tenets, inasmuch that it was become a kind of proverb, *either Erasmus is a Lutheran, or Luther a Disciple of Erasmus* *.” Hosius, of whom I am speaking, had been honoured with our Countryman’s familiarity at the University of *Padua*, and encouraged by him to pursue the path of true glory, which he had already entered, and distinguished himself in it, by his parts, probity, and literary improvements †. They ever after retained a singular regard for each other, as their correspondence, and mutual inclination to oblige, which was carried through life, abundantly testify. The connections of this excellent person with the CARDINAL, and the high esteem in which he has always been held, both by Protestants and Catholics, make it proper to give the following account of him, before I come to that celebrated name, *Erasmus*.

He was a native of *Cracovia*, and having been educated with great care in his father’s house, was sent to *Padua*, where, as has been said, he became acquainted with REGINALD POLE; and, amongst other advantages, had *Bonamico* for Professor,

* Audi quid scribat de vobis, qui versatus fuit multis annis inter vos, nec valde nonnullis visus est alienus à doctrinâ vestrâ, ita ut quasi vulgò diceretur, aut *Erasmus Lutherizat*, aut *Lutherus Erasmizat*. Contra Pseudo-Evang.

† Has litteras tibi dedi, ex quibus velim tibi persuadeas, me, ut indoli tuæ ad omnem pietatem, virtutem atque doctrinam florenti, cum *Petavii* adolescens litteris operam dares, favēbam; sic nunc postquam à tuis edoctus sum præclaros fructus easdem Virtutes edere, non potuisse non maximè gaudenti animo audire. Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 18.

fessor, and took his degrees in the Civil Law. On his return to his country, he was appointed Secretary to the King, and afterwards employed in the Chancery. His inclinations leading him to holy Orders, he was first Canon of *Cracovia*, and then Bishop of *Culmes*, and sent Ambassador by *Sigismund* to *Julius III.* and to the Emperor. Being advanced to the See of *Wormia*, *Pius IV.* who was no stranger to his merit, made use of him to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and the King of *Bohemia*, to obtain their concurrence for the continuation of the Council of *Trent*. The first of these Princes, after some discourse on the subject, embraced him, and said, "he could refuse nothing to a person, whose breast was the Temple, and tongue the Organ of the holy Spirit." The Cardinal's Cap being sent to him at *Vienna*, he would have declined that honour, had not the Pope, by a positive command, overruled his modesty; and at the same time appointed him, with the Cardinal of *Mantua* and *Seripando*, to open again the General Council, which had been interrupted for some years. He acquitted himself so well of this commission, that, at the conclusion of the Council, the Pope acknowledged his services by a very obliging letter. He then retired to his Bishoprick in *Poland*, and finished those excellent Works, which have gained the Author almost an equal reputation with all Parties, and have been translated into various languages, some of which went through thirty editions in his life-time. The Catholics have stiled him a Pillar of the Church, and the *Augustin* of his times; and those of a different persuasion have honoured him with Encomiums still more pompous. He was called again to *Rome*, by *Gregory XIII.* in 1572, which was the 76th year of his age, and made grand *Penitentiary*. He died

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soon after, and may be placed on a parallel with the great *Osius* of *Corduba*, who presided at the first General Council of *Nice*, in every thing but his fall *.

Erasmus, as has been said, died about the time I am speaking of; and the singular sentiments of good-will and esteem, which he testifies in his letters to *REGINALD POLE*, make something more than a bare mention of him suitable to the subject of this Work. I shall consider him as a *Genius* and a Man of *Letters*, and as one who professed the tenets of the *Catholic Church*: this being the light in which his connections with our Countryman place him, and in which his character, in other respects not conspicuous enough for public observation, has been generally viewed. It will appear from hence, whether that great name has been injured by the Priesthood, and if they have brought any shame on themselves, by refusing to look on him as the glory of their profession.

If we consider him as a *Genius* and a Scholar, Envy itself must own he holds a rank which very few have ever attained. Born of mean parentage, and in a climate as little famed for ripening minds as improving morals, his native vigour raised him above these disadvantages; and the unhappiness of a sordid education, by which the knavery of his Guardians, after having reduced him

* *Rescius*, the Writer of *Hofius's* Life, from whom this account is taken, had been his Secretary, and was sent by him to compliment the Duke of *Anjou* on his election to the crown of *Poland*. *Bathori*, who was afterwards raised to that dignity, appointed him Ambassador to the Court of *Rome*. *Sigismund*, another King of that nation, employed him on several occasions, in which he acquitted himself with great credit. Besides the Life of his Patron, he has left some other treatises, and a volume of Letters, which have made him known, with advantage, to the learned world.

him to great straits with respect to fortune, sought to depress his growing parts, only served to make him exert them with greater superiority. Though he came into the world in an age when Learning, in all its denominations, was revived in those southern climes, which Greece had enriched with all her stores, he wanted the favourable circumstance of passing any part of his youth amongst such as were so capable of forming him to justness and elegance, both of thought, sentiment and expression. But these checks were compensated by a beautiful and rich imagination, an exquisite discernment, and a happy memory. His industry could not be surpassed but by the ease with which the most various and difficult attainments became almost as familiar to him, as those notions which open on the mind at the first dawn of reason; and in which Dean Swift, among the Moderns, seems to be his only rival. The result of these qualifications was an incredible insight into sacred and profane Antiquity, a critical Judgment, a complete knowledge of the learned Languages, and a happiness of expressing himself in the *Latin*, which few have equaled. His long and entertaining *Dialogue on the Ciceronian Stile*, and his other *Dialogues*; his *Letters*, which are very numerous, and take in a most unusual variety of matter, are proofs of the readiness of his parts. The Editions of the Fathers, with the fine Prefaces and Dedications prefixed to some of them, shew his extensive reading; and, in most of these Works, the knowledge of men and manners keeps pace with his skill in books. But, what a polite and discerning age will with gratitude ever acknowledge, he greatly contributed to bring into discredit that barbarous gibberish, those trifling and unmeaning discussions, and that dark

and pedantic drudgery, which for so many centuries had disgraced the schools, and debased the minds and understandings of those who frequented them. He introduced studies of a real and positive nature, suited to use and improvement, and which have a tendency to raise, polish, and better mankind. There are infinite excellencies scattered through the most exceptionable of his Writings; and the Reader is every where struck with the fruitfulness of his genius, and the rapidity of his pen. These are commendations to which *Erasmus* has the justest claim: and if the other view of this extraordinary personage, in which the Christian is concerned, no less than the Scholar, was equally luminous, the best of Causes would never have had an abler or more seasonable Advocate, or a greater Ornament. Whether this be the case or not, the Reader, if he happens to be unprovided of a more correct Criterion, may judge from the following.

There has scarce been any Error advanced against the Religion which he professed, and, I might almost add, against Christianity itself, which he has not revived; or any Tenet in that divine plan of Belief and Practice, which he has not oppugned, either by profane sneers or sophistry. That this licentiousness might still wear the face of reason, he has made use of the most unfair means which imposture could suggest; and vitiated, denied, or strained to a false construction those documents, by which the doctrines he attacks are supported. Had *Erasmus* barely rejected the Invocation of Saints, as not grounded on Scripture; and asserted, that nothing is to be received but what is delivered there, he would have done no more than many others who dissent from the Catholic Church: but the manner in which he has treated the devotion paid to the Mother

Mother of our Redeemer, and the indignity with which he speaks of Her who was *blessed among women*, are flights of Impiety too outrageous to be offered even to the censure of a Christian Reader, and must give no less offence to all sensible and judicious Protestants than to Catholics *. The six reasons which he assigns against the custom of having recourse to her Intercession, at the beginning of Sermons, are all weak, and most of them false and profane †. In consequence of these Principles, he informs one of his acquaintance, “that though he had written some things to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, it was against his will; that his heart had no share in a composition, which was undertaken to please his friend *Bassus*, and a woman of quality ‡.” He asserts the Church to be no where visible; and was about to compose the Epitaph of JESUS CHRIST, as one who was no more, since *Luther’s* breast alone contained a few sparks of the Gospel. There are no commendations which he does not bestow on *Luther’s* writings and innovations, in which he encourages him to persist ||.

Coletto,
P. 351.
inter
Eras. Ep.
ed. *Bas.*

ibid. 244.

N 3

The

* Colloq. Peregrin. Rel. ergò. Annot. in Luc. c. i. The most shameful part of this commentary no longer appears in the place cited; but it may be seen in *Erasmus’s* answer to *Ed. Lee*, and in *Sutor the Carthusian*. *Salmeron* and *Possevin* make mention of it; the first, p. 274. *de Mariâ*; the other, p. 1098. *de Præpar. ad Mortem*.

† Ecclesiastes.

‡ Reliqua omnia penè alieno scripsi stomacho, præsertim Pæana et obsecrationem, quod laboris datum est animo Bassi mei, et affectibus *Annæ* Principis Verianæ. A Panegyrico sic abhorrebam, ut non meminerim quicquam fuisse à me magis reluctante scriptum animo.

|| Interea servandus animus, ne vel irâ, vel odio, vel gloriâ corrumpatur; nam hæc in medio pietatis studio solet insidiari. *Hæc non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuò facias.* Degustavi Commentarios tuos in Psalmos: vehementer arident

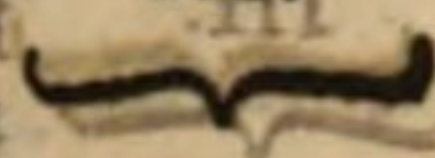
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Fausto,
ib. p. 222.

The privileges which he ascribes to the marriage state in preference to celibacy, are set forth with such indecency, that a *Cynic* could not have other ideas, nor clothe them in coarser terms. Though a Priest, and advanced in years, he relates his Gallantries in *England*, in a stile more becoming the stews than the Monastery, in which, with the other obligations of that state, he had vowed Chastity. When he speaks of auricular Confession, every assertion is an error; and in a Treatise of it, in two parts, having enumerated the advantages in the first, he refutes, in the second, all he had advanced, and concludes it to be a snare to true piety; for which he has assigned a reason, which shall not foul this page. He disapproves of the distinction of food, the observance of Lent, and other appointed fasts, and of the single life of the Clergy. There is no sort of disparagement with which he has not loaded the Monastic profession; he vilifies their persons, their habit, observances and vows, by every indignity which malice can prompt, or scurrility utter.

arident et spero magnam utilitatem allaturos. Est *Antuerpiæ* Prior ejus Monasterii, vir purè Christianus, qui te unice deamat, tuus olim Discipulus, ut prædicat. Is omnium pæne solus Christum prædicat. Cæteri ferè aut hominum fabulas aut suum quæstum. Dominus Iesus tibi suum spiritum indies uberius impertiat ad suam gloriam et publicam utilitatem.

These Commentaries of *Luther* on the Psalms, with which *Erasmus* is so taken, and which he hopes will be so useful to the Public, contain the following doctrines, among others equally orthodox and edifying. That the Righteousness of good Works is an impiety: that the Church is a gulf of God's wrath; *Rome*, the seat of Satan and of Antichrist; the co-operation of Free-will, a falshood and a folly; the ceremonies of the Church, a destruction of God's commandments; good Works, hainous sins; the private spirit of each of the Faithful, the true Rule of Faith; *John Hus*, a Martyr to truth, for which he was put to death; Theology, an impiety; private Masses, a mockery; and the propositions he maintained at *Leipsic*, so many Catholic Verities.



offus
p. 225

utter. The *Fathers* meet with no better reception. The *Evangelists* themselves are accused of inaccuracy, and want of good faith, when they alledge the testimony of the *Prophets*: and, by this Critic's good will, one Canonical book ought to receive a more authentic acknowledgment of divine inspiration than another. I omit what he says against the Freedom of our Will, and numberless other articles, in all which he dissents from the spirit of the Catholic Church, from the principles of her approved Writers, and betrays a mind totally warped from her rule of rectitude.

This affinity of sentiments produced the consideration, which *Luther* in his turn had for *Erasmus*: he tells him, "he read his Works with the greatest application, and found his chief delight in them." The Protestants are agreed with the Catholics on their resemblance, and give *Erasmus* a title, which they esteem glorious, of having been the Forerunner of the Reformation. "It was his Writings, says a celebrated Author of that party, which encouraged *Luther*, and determined him to attack the Church; and in laughing at the Pope, at Confession and Ceremonies, he did no more than *Erasmus* had done twenty years before *." He himself acknowledges, "that the storm which *Lutheranism* had raised was imputed to him." His volatile temper, together with some selfish considerations, not allowing him to adhere steadily to either side, a *Lutheran* Writer exposed his Inconsistencies, in a Work addressed to the Public †: and *Erasmus*, in his Apology, appears almost as zealous a Defender of *Luther's* tenets, as he who broached them ‡. At the same time he behaved with equal insincerity to the Catholics;

Ibid.

p. 243.

Wolfius.

N 4

* *Zuingl.* in art. 20. *Friccius* de Repub. *Wolfius*, tom. 2. p. 146, 147. † *Aspergines Hutani.* ‡ Apolog. Senatui *Argentini.*

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tholics; and thus his Apologies, instead of exculpating, only set his unsteadiness in a more unfavourable view.

But Impiety took a still bolder flight, when he endeavoured to weaken or elude all the proofs which the Scripture furnishes of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. This must appear at first sight, from his manner of explaining away the force of those passages where it is asserted. The *Arians*, therefore, of those times, looked on him as their Chief; and *Socinus*, as one belonging to his Sect. The Ministers of *Hungary*, in their memorial to their King *John*, tell him, that *Erasmus* was the Forerunner of their Prophet *Servetus*: and the *Arians* of *Poland* and *Transilvania* replied to the Catholic Missioners, that they had received their opinions concerning the Trinity, and the second divine Person, from no other source than the writings of *Erasmus* *.

After having employed his parts and learning against Religion; Ridicule was the only remaining weapon with which he could attack her: and this he has done with an impiety, which, till then, had been unheard of. Every Article of Christianity, those Persons who have most honoured it by their lives, the sacred Mother of its Author, the divine Author himself, are set up, by this second *Lucian*, as objects of laughter and raillery, and exposed to the scorn of Witlings and Unbelievers †: and, for this reason, no Works were ever more calculated to corrupt Morals, to inspire Irreligion, and furnish her, if not with arguments, at least with cavils against all that is good and venerable.

I can-
* *Memoires d'Hongrie. Provo. des nouv. Arri. à Erasme.*
F. Soc. Ep. ad Fr. David. *Possev. in Appar.*

† *Col. Pereg. Relig. ergò. Encomium Morie, five Laus Stultitiæ.*

I cannot dismiss this subject, though perhaps already too much lengthened out, without observing, that it is no wonder the motley and ambiguous Principles of a late celebrated genius, which caused him to address the most daring Infidel of the age, as *his Guide and Philosopher*, should likewise have given him the same advantageous sentiments of *Erasmus*. Through this Egyptian darkness, he, who was to *Virtue only* and her friends a friend, could descry the good and injured man, the honest man, the glory of that Order of men to whom he belonged, and the great Saint; and has threatened those who modestly blamed some of his own unjustifiable expressions, to revenge himself on them, by writing the Panegyric of their avowed enemy, in a language which was to extend farther than that of the *Essay on Criticism* *. Could there be any doubt concerning the principles of such a turn of mind; it is cleared up by the *Essay on Man*, which shews the Poet's Theology to have been congenial with that of his Philosopher *Bolingbroke*, and his Saint *Erasmus*. The harmony indeed of his numbers, charms away that offence, which the licentious phrase of the other two provokes; yet still the drift of the Work, and the design of the Artist, seem to have been the same through all three.

But to go back to the CARDINAL, whose late promotion, and the congratulations he received on it, gave occasion to this digression; in the answer which he returned to the Doge's letter, amongst other grateful and patriot sentiments, he tells him, "that though he had received several congratulations from persons on whose judgment and affection he could rely, yet as the voice

* *Essay on Criticism*, by Mr *Pope*. Letter 2d. to the Hon. J. C. Esq;

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voice of his Country, for whose sake alone he had accepted that dignity, was wanting, the others had been accompanied with a kind of sadness, which embittered every other satisfaction *." He dwells with complacency on the stay he made in the State of *Venice*, which he speaks of as a second Country, where he had spent almost the greater and better part of his life, with those advantages, which he could have met with no where else, and least of all at home. He observes, that the Education he received at *Padua*, which he represents as the Seat of whatever is useful and ornamental, was the true foundation of a happy and valuable life; and that to have made even a moderate proficiency in that School, was preferable to all other attainments. That, besides these benefits, which were open to every body, he had personal obligations to the Republic, having experienced great humanity from her excellent Citizens, who had given him the least equivocal marks of good-will, and equaled whatever he could have looked for from his nearest Relations. He ends, with assuring the Doge and Senate, they have a right to expect from him the zeal and attachment of a native of the State, which he should always testify by every thing in which their honour was concerned.

But though his Country, as he says, took no share in his new dignity, he had not been long invested with it, when the situation of affairs in that kingdom seemed to offer him an opportunity of exerting himself in her behalf. That the CAR-

DINAL'S

* Quia illa una Vox Patriæ aberat, cujus certè causâ, si ejus rei in terris causâ, hunc sive honorem, sive onus, ut verius appellem, suscepi, nescio quo pacto quascunque lætitiæ voces audiebam, eas non sine aliquo doloris sensu excipiebam. *Epist. Reg. Poli*, pars 2. pag. 3.

DINAL's behaviour in this nice transaction may appear in its true light, it will be necessary to lay before the Reader a short sketch of the state of *England* at this juncture. *Henry* had no sooner assumed the supremacy of the Church, but he thought of making it as lucrative as he could; and appointed a Vicar in his spiritual capacity, every way suited to such a Principal, and such purposes. This Minister, *Thomas Cromwell*, had taken care, as we have seen above, to inform the King of his talents for destruction; and being unrestrained by any principle, human or divine, and the brutal savageness of his mind equal to his vile extraction, he was alike qualified to plan and execute his Prince's worst designs. Though pride and cruelty were the master passions in *Henry's* breast, they did not, as *Aaron's* serpent, swallow up the rest. Like all Tyrants of his magnitude, he was by turns actuated by others, no less pernicious to his subjects; and, amongst these, Voluptuousness held the first place. It had been confirmed by a long habit of indulging every appetite, and even preventing those Calls, by which Nature is prepared for the relish of pleasure. This had produced a profusion and rapaciousness of every kind, and in the highest degree, of these opposite Vices, and fully expressed that character which *Salust* gives of another scourge of mankind †. One of the first Acts, therefore, of his spiritual power, was to suppress all Religious Houses, of both sexes, whose yearly Income was under three hundred marks, or two hundred pounds, and seize the Revenues for his own use; and his Vicar, *Cromwell*, appointed Doctor *Lee*, a person of the utmost profligacy, chief Visitor both

† *Pessima atque inter se diversa mala, Luxuria atque Avaritia.*

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both of the manners and property of such places. Accusations were received on the bare credit of such as were chosen to answer the end of the inspection; and the most unfair and shameful methods made use of to traduce those, whose cause could not be good under so corrupt a Government: and no apology or remonstrance was allowed in favour of the Oppressed. We are not, therefore, to wonder, that in the Preamble to the Act, by which these Houses were dissolved, the motive is brought from their decay of discipline, and loose manners. The Religious, under the age of four and twenty, were compelled to leave their Monasteries: the rest were left at their own discretion, either to stay or depart; but those who remained were mured up, and not permitted to go out of their houses. The ejected Monks were allowed a Clerical gown, and forty shillings; and the Nuns obliged to exchange their dress to that of secular Women, and went where they thought fit. The Number of these Houses was about 370, the Revenues of which amounted to above 30,000*l.* all which was granted by the Parliament to the King and his Heirs. The Visitors seized also the Goods and Chattels of *these ancient Monuments of devotion*, as Lord Herbert calls them, which, at a low valuation, amounted to 100,000*l.* a sum equivalent to five times as much in these days; and, adding sacrilege to rapine, they plundered the Sanctuary of the sacred Vestments, of the Shrines, Jewels, and other ornaments, alleging they were all for the King's use. This plunder of what the general opinion and principles of mankind have sanctified, has caused the Historians of the Church of *England*, to record these facts with every aggravating circumstance that attended them; and their candor has passed the same

same censure on them, as the Writers of their communion who were the Sufferers §.

The People were Spectators of these innovations, and of the manner in which they were carried on: and the character of the chief Promoters was before their eyes; and it was but too visible from the King's life and conversation, what were his real motives in these proceedings. They had been witnesses of the general regularity which prevailed in these Retreats from the World, and of the unfair methods used to misrepresent them. They beheld 10,000 persons, according to Lord *Herbert's* computation, of both sexes, who after having taken up a course of life, established and secured to them by all laws, human and divine, were turned out of their habitations, and wandering about, without any provision made for their subsistence, whilst the Commissioners rioted in the profit of these Confiscations †. These motives alone were sufficient to rouse their indignation against this dissolution; but there were others, in which they thought themselves little less concerned than the principal sufferers. There had been great hospitality kept up in these places, and, besides the daily alms distributed to the necessitous, above 10,000 persons, Masters and Servants, were, by this suppression, deprived of a livelihood. Considerations of a higher order contributed to make these proceedings more odious. Most of these foundations had been made or endowed by our Nobility and Gentry, and the Churches belonging to them were the Repositories of the Ashes and Monuments of their Ancestors, where stated offices of Religion were daily performed for the repose of their Benefactors, and the

§ *Stowe, Fuller, Ch. Hist. p. 312. Collier, vol. 2. b. 2. p. 155. and b. 3. p. 180.*

† *Life of Henry VIII. p. 377.*

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the welfare of their Posterity, and of the whole Nation. But what caused a still greater uneasiness, was the apprehension of a total subversion of the ancient Worship, on which it was visible that several about the King were wholly intent. They had the example of the Barons, who appeared in the field against King *John* and *Henry III.* for the redress of wrongs less destructive than those then complained of. The Bishops, and mitred Abbots, of whom twenty eight had a seat in Parliament, had gone into all the Court measures, from a fear of what might befall themselves, if they opposed them; and though they made some faint efforts against the secularising the Abbey Lands, and for founding Schools, Hospitals, and Colleges, as such like purposes had a certain affinity with their original destination, and which they took to be the meaning of the Act, by which they were disincorporated; yet they had neither interest nor courage to pursue a Scheme, though confirmed by the Royal promise, and therefore dropped that and all farther attempts which might endanger their own Temporalities. As to the leading men of the Laity, Lord *Herbert* observes, that the share they had in the spoils, caused them to abet the means by which they were obtained. But the bulk of the people, who were lookers on, and not biased by lucrative respects, conceived themselves injured in many essential branches of their rights and property, and lamented without disguise the injustice done to so many innocent persons, and the wrongs they sustained themselves. The Vicar-General, to whose counsels these Acts of violence were chiefly imputed, became the object of universal hatred, and their discourses concerning him were as free as their inward resentments. After having, for some time, confined the sense of their injuries to

words and sentiments, they broke out, at length, into overt Acts of hostility, and rose up in arms, in different parts of the kingdom. In this view our civil and church Historians have considered the attempt I am going to speak of, and reasoned on it, on these principles; with a design, it seems, to obviate whatever may be objected to the lawfulness of the method of redress, by those who are inattentive to the provocation.

STRECHT.

III

O.A. 1536.

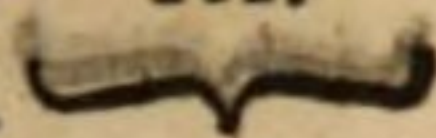
The first insurrection was in *Lincolnshire*. The grievances chiefly complained of, were the suppression of the Monasteries, the administration of affairs being intrusted to persons of base origin, by which *Cromwell*, who was a Blacksmith's son, was personally noted; and a just apprehension, that the Parish Churches would be plundered, as those of the Religious Houses had been; and the King was besought to refer these causes of uneasiness to the Nobles of the Realm. The Insurgents were about 20,000; but having no Leader of reputation, and being come together in a tumultuous manner, the danger with which the Court was threatened from such an undisciplined mob, was not considerable: and on the Duke of *Suffolk's* approach, and the King's proclamation, with private assurances of pardon, they returned to their former obedience. About the same time, there was a rising in the North, more numerous and formidable, being made up of men inured to arms, and in the neighbourhood of a nation, at that time, very averse to the late innovations in Religious matters, of which it was feared they would, at this juncture, avail themselves. Their attack on the Government was much more regular, and they were led on by *Robert Aske*, a Gentleman remarkable for his talents of managing the Populace. The causes assigned for their having recourse to arms, were much the same as

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had been urged by those who had just lain them down; the duty they owed their Maker, their zeal for the King's person and issue; the necessity of removing vile and ignoble persons from the Council; of compelling Apostate Monks to return to their Convents, and replacing those who were ejected; of reinstating the Church in her Rights, and suppressing errors. They all took an oath that these were their only inducements of entering into this Association, which was called by the quaint name of *the Pilgrimage of Grace*. The badges they wore on their garments, the emblems interwoven in their banners, and the representation of their dying Redeemer, carried in their front, were all expressive of these professions. Forty thousand persons, chiefly from the Counties of *York, Durham, Lancaster, and Cumberland*, among whom were several of rank and family, resorted to their standard. They seized on *Hull* and *York*; and though the Archbishop, Dr *Lee*, and Lord *Darcy*, threw themselves into *Pomfret* Castle, in order to defend it, the resistance they made was short; and, alleging necessity for what they did, they joined the Victors, whose cause they were suspected to favour, and bound themselves by the Association oath. The first step which the King took on this occasion was suited to the usual and known violence of his temper. In order to frighten the Monks from applying to this formidable body, and returning to their ancient possessions, he ordered the Abbots of *Salley, Whalley, Norton, and Hexam*, to be dragged out of their Monasteries, and executed by martial law*. The Duke of *Norfolk* was appointed to march against the Insurgents, and his forces being much inferior, he had recourse to stratagem. Being encamped at *Doncaster*, a violent

* *Collier*, vol. 2. pag. 132.



The Lords
Scroop,
Latimer,
Lumley,
Darcy and
Hussey.

lent rain swelled the river, from which the town takes its name, and disappointed the enemies design of passing it, in order to attack him. The Duke improved this incident to his advantage, and sent a Herald with proposals of accommodation, and orders to lay down their arms. The General, *Ask*, as the Abettor of the civil and religious Rights of the People, received him sitting in a chair of state, between the Archbishop of *York* and Lord *Darcy*, and a conference being agreed on, the Duke was met at *Doncaster* by several of the Nobility, who were in *Ask's* army, and a very numerous Retinue. They were offered a general pardon, six only excepted by name out of their number, and four more reserved to the King's pleasure. This proposal being rejected, the Duke went with the utmost speed to *Windsor*, where the King then resided, and returned with equal expedition, and full power to sign an unlimited pardon, besides several grants in favour of the Church's immunities; on which they disbanded, and retired to their respective homes. Before the separation, they bound themselves by the most solemn engagements to return to their Standard, if the King failed to comply with his promise, and redress their wrongs: and *Henry*, on his part, thinking the danger over, first delayed, and then refused to ratify what fear alone had extorted, and his bad faith made him look on as a temporary expedient, which was no longer to be regarded, when the end was gained. *Ask's* troops were no sooner apprised of this treachery, but they repaired again to their General; and the Duke, who had already experienced the success of negotiation, entered on it a second time: but the demands of the adverse party were now risen so high, that, rather than comply with them, he chose to decide the event by the sword. The

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Enemies resolution and spirit were not abated by their late dispersion, and they had now no hopes but in themselves. The River *Dun* was, as before, between them and the Royal army, and they resolved to pass it on the morrow, in order to give battle; when a second inundation rendered the river again impassable. This repeated disappointment struck them with a kind of panic, and, their provisions failing, they began to break up and disperse. The Duke favoured this disposition, by a promise of a second general amnesty, which the King ratified, and they returned home.

But though those tumults were quelled, the State was too convulsed to settle soon into tranquillity, and a third insurrection followed close on the former. *Musgrave* and *Tilby*, at the head of 8,000 men, laid siege to *Carlisle*; but, being repulsed, they were intercepted in their retreat by the Duke, who still remained in those parts, and all their Officers, except *Musgrave*, to the number of seventy, taken prisoners and put to death. The same uneasiness under the present innovations caused great numbers of Malcontents to declare themselves in other parts of the nation. Sir *Francis Bigot* endeavoured to surprize *Hull*, but without success; and by the vigilance of the Duke of *Norfolk*, this, and several other attempts to redress present grievances, and prevent still greater, which hung over the nation, proved ineffectual. *Henry's* choler, which the least opposition set in a flame, was, by these frequent provocations, become too violent to be restrained even by his own most solemn engagements; and making use of these late insurrections as a pretext not to adhere to the pardon granted to *Ask* and his Confederates, he involved the innocent and guilty in one promiscuous ruin, and ordered the Duke to spread the Royal banner, and

and execute martial law wherever he thought fit. S ECT. 2
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 A like severity was extended to great numbers of high rank and quality in different parts of the Kingdom*, till *Henry*, at length sated with blood, published a new Act of Grace, to which, Lord *Herbert* says, he adhered. Our Historians vary P. 248.
 in the order of these transactions, and some other circumstances, but are unanimous as to the cause of the insurrection, the motives on which those who were engaged in it justified their proceedings, the King's want of good faith in fulfilling the promises made to *Ask's* army on their disbanding, and the blood spilt in consequence of that failure.

I shall conclude this Article with taking notice of a remarkable fatality which attended the General, by whose conduct, in a great measure, the crown, which seemed to totter, had been settled on the Tyrant's head. This nobleman was the most powerful of all those who favoured the ancient Religion, and though thoroughly persuaded of her faith and worship, had come into all the measures which were taken to destroy both. Lord *Darcy*, before his execution, had charged him with giving secret countenance to the Insurgents, whom he was sent to reduce: but this accusation had either been discredited or overlooked; and the other succours, by which the Duke sought to make up the breaches which were daily made in Religion, had been managed with such caution as to escape the King's notice, or not incur his displeasure. Yet, notwithstanding all his past services, he was, ten years after the period I am speaking of,

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* *Robert Ask*, the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussey*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Lady *Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, Sir *Stephen Hambleton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, *George Lumley*, *Nicholas Tempest*, *William Thurst*, Abbot of *Fountains*, *Adam Sudbury*, Abbot of *Gervaux*, the Abbot of *Rivers*, *William Wold*, Prior of *Bridlington*, and several others of lower rank.

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of, sent to the Tower on such shadows of misdemeanor, as saying, the King could not hold out long, and that it was to be feared, the religious dissensions would be fatal to the Nation, after his death. During his confinement he pleaded his innocence, and the merits of a long life spent in the service of the Crown, in a very pathetic letter to the King; but that having no effect, he shewed the same want of resolution, which he had formerly too often betrayed, when the civil and religious Rights of his Country were at stake; and, complying with *Henry's* temper, had recourse to submission, and the acknowledgment of offences of which he was not conscious; but all to no purpose. Both Houses of Parliament, as the most expeditious instrument of the King's Tyranny, were summoned, not to try, but condemn the Prisoner, and a bill of Attainder being found against him by the Peers, without examination of Evidence or trial of the Criminal; it was sent to the Commons, with a message from the King, whose health declined very fast, to dispatch it with all speed. Orders were accordingly issued for the Execution on the 29th of *January*, but the King's death, which happened on the foregoing night, prevented his reign from being stained with this additional act of blood; and this Nobleman, having continued Prisoner during *Edward's* life, was, on *Mary's* accession, restored to his liberty, but survived the recovery of it only a year.

His son, the gallant, polite, and learned Earl of *Surry*, on accusations no less trifling, had been sent to the Tower on the same day with his Father; and, notwithstanding his manly and eloquent defence, was put to death by a sentence equally unjust and tyrannical. His crimes were, that one of his Domesticks, whilst he was in *Italy*, had paid a visit to CARDINAL POLE, and that the Earl

Earl was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with him. Neither Parliaments nor Juries, in this reign, gave attention to any thing but the King's will: when that was clear, all other proofs were out of the question.

But, to return to the tumults I was speaking of, they plainly indicated the uneasiness which sat on the minds of the people in general, under the late innovations, and were looked upon as fore-runners of a national revolution in favour of the ancient Doctrine. The Pope, besides a zeal for reuniting so fair a portion to the Catholic Church, and the obligation which his supreme office laid him under to endeavour it, had several particular reasons to keep no further measures with *Henry* than duty and necessity obliged him to. That Prince had not only renounced an obedience to the See of *Rome*, which, with all other Christian Princes, he had hitherto acknowledged, and supported in an excellent work against *Martin Luther*; but had, moreover, compelled his Subjects, and endeavoured by every art and sollicitation, to draw the Kings of *France* and *Scotland* into the same defection. These reasons induced *Paul III.* to send CARDINAL POLE, with the quality of Legate, into the Low Countries, that, being in the neighbourhood of *England*, he might, with greater certainty be informed of the dispositions of the nation; exert that influence which his Royal descent, and the great authority he still had, gave him; and, if the situation of affairs was such as to make his going over to that kingdom advisable, the journey was left to his discretion. He undertook this commission at the earnest instance of the Emperor's Ambassadors at *Rome* and at the *British* Court, the latter of whom communicated his advice by letter. Whatever had any relation to the commission, the road he was to take, the

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progress of the whole journey was concerted by their counsel and exhortation, and almost by their compulsion. The Count of *Siplonti*, and Doctor *Ortisi*, who had pleaded Queen *Catharine's* cause, constrained him, against his own judgment, to take the way of *France*. They were the first, says the CARDINAL, to extol the Bishop of *Verona*, who had left every thing that was dear to him, that he might accompany me, and share whatever I was to undertake or suffer in the cause. The *French* Ambassadors declared, not to him alone, but to the Pope, on the part of their Master, when the subject of his Embassy, and his journey to the *French* Court was treated of, that his presence would be highly agreeable to the King: and though, says he, there were not wanting persons, who, notwithstanding these fair appearances, foretold me what I have since experienced, yet, on my testifying some distrust, they replied with emotion, that I did an injury to their Sovereign, if I had any diffidence in the offer he made me, since a Legate from the holy See, whosoever he was, must at all times, and on all occasions, be welcome to the most Christian King *. The conclusion in fine was, that he should take the road of *France*, and, if he could not pass over into *England*, he was to remain in *Flanders* and watch every opportunity of promoting the affair he was sent on. But, because the purpose of his Legation extended beyond what concerned his Country, and he was to treat of a Peace between the Emperor and the *French* King, and of holding a general Council, he was to negotiate this latter affair with the different Princes, through whose dominions he passed; and, if the situation of things in *England* made his journey to the *French* court inconvenient, the Bishop of *Verona* was to go thither to treat

* Epist. R. Poli, pars. 2. pag. 34. R. sig. *

treat of a Peace and the Council, and then join him * He was charged with Credentials from the Pope to several Potentates, which set forth his commission, and the Pontiff's design in conferring it.

The first was addressed to the *English* Nation, and declared the satisfaction his Holiness had received from the late proof they had given, that their revolt from a Faith and Obedience, by which they had till then distinguished themselves, had been constrained and forced on them. They are required to pay the LEGATE that deference, to which their duty to God, the respect they owed the holy See, and the LEGATE's high birth, excellent endowments, and singular probity, intitled him; to assist him in the execution of the Pope's orders, which had been dictated by Piety, and were directed to the glory of God, and their welfare.

The second Letter was to the King of Scotland, James V. who was exhorted to support the LEGATE, by favouring the disposition which the *English* had shewn to return to the Faith of their ancestors. The Pope informs him, that the LEGATE was to go to the *French* Court, in order to prevail on the most Christian King, whose daughter James had married, to recommend to him the safety of that People, and to engage him to a Peace with his Imperial Majesty; that a general Council might be held, Errors repressed, the Church reformed, the *Turk*, who threatened *Italy* with an invasion, be repulsed; and many other Articles be agreed on, in which the common cause of Christendom was concerned. That in all these concerns, and especially that in which the neighbouring Nation was interested, next to his most Christian Majesty, he laid his chief stress

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on him, of whose piety he was assured, and who had broken off all commerce with those who were fallen from what they owed to duty and truth. On this account he had ordered the LEGATE to communicate all his designs to him, which had no other end than the welfare and tranquillity of the *English* nation, and the general good; which views were common to him, to the King of *France*, and to all Christian Princes. He concludes, by intreating him to concur in cherishing the laudable dispositions of a People, whose neighbourhood gave him a facility to assist them, to which his good-will could not be wanting. At the same time he sent *James* a Sword and Cap of Maintenance, with a second Letter, which set off the typical signification of each present.

The Contents of the Letter to the *French* King are much the same with the former; but he takes notice, that he had often endeavoured, as he was bound in duty, to bring about a Peace between him and the Emperor, but to no effect.

The Letter to *Mary*, the Dowager Queen of *Hungary*, sister to *Charles V.* and Governess of the *Low Countries*, was much to the same purpose: but as it was to a person of that Sex, whose resentments of injured honour are very lively, it insinuated to her the indignity with which her aunt *Catharine of Arragon* had been treated, as an additional motive to exert herself in the cause of Religion, Justice, and the duties annexed to Royalty. To enforce this, the holy Father added, that though his own proceedings in this affair had been primarily guided by the great ends of Equity, and the obligations which his character of a common Father of the Faithful brought on him,

him; yet he had not been unmindful of the personal decency which he owed himself * SECT. 2
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These letters seem, in great measure, to have been planned on a Memorial which the CARDINAL had given in to the Pope, as soon as he was nominated to this Embassy. It is penned in *Italian*, and the Original preserved amongst the *Vatican Manuscripts*. In this, he desires that his Credentials for *England* may be in honourable terms, in order to give the Nation a proof of the Pope's regard in sending them a person of integrity and moderation, and whose sole view was to be beneficial to his Country. He observes, that the favours and privileges, which the holy See is accustomed to grant, should be dispensed in such manner as to produce as much edification, as they had formerly caused scandal, by being distributed for other purposes than those for which they were intended. He says, the result of what was required of the Nation ought to be no more than to have religious Matters reinstated, as they were before the late innovations, with respect at least to the ancient Faith, and to whatever was necessary in order to a reconciliation with an offended God. That, as to several other points, he was of opinion, much condescension should be used, lest, while more was insisted on than could be obtained, every thing should be denied; and that in matters, in which the substance of Religion was not concerned, more regard should be paid to the exigencies of the present times, than to what had been anciently practised. He concludes with these words: "There is one thing more, holy Father, which appears to me very important, and which I cannot omit without being wanting to the trust reposed in me. The

* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. pag. 217, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.

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The case is very possible, that the King, perceiving the general discontent of his Subjects, may, in order to appease it, promise to redress their grievances, without any design of doing so; and, when the danger is over, may proceed, at different times, and on several pretexts, to punish the Leaders with death. If the Nation on this account should desist from any further thought of relief, or want means to pursue it, some proper person should be appointed to keep up their resolution, and a sufficient fund allowed for that purpose †. Henry's faithless and revengeful temper had suggested to the LEGATE this precaution; and the Event, as has been seen, soon shewed it to have been taken on very good grounds.

In this manner the LEGATE and the Pope, in their letters, express themselves as to the nature of the Commission, and the Views with which it was undertaken. The principles on which the latter proceeded, were drawn from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the Church, and gave him a right to use such means as are proper to effect it. But the LEGATE being a native of *England*, it may not be unreasonable to say something of the reasons which induced him to accept of so delicate a negotiation, and enter on a kind of offensive state with his Sovereign. And this cannot be more fully cleared up to the Reader's satisfaction, than by laying before him the LEGATE's manner of reasoning on it.

He represents the Original Contract between the King and People as no longer subsisting, having been violated by the former in many concerns

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 224, inter *Monumenta Preliminaria*.

cerns of the highest and most weighty consequence. That the *Grand Charter*, which was the Bond of this mutual Covenant, was likewise the Base of the Liberty and Property of the whole body of the People; and that the Rights and Immunities of the Church were secured by the very first Article of this Bulwark of our Constitution. That this had been confirmed by the repeated Statutes of numberless Parliaments, and by a Prescription of above 400 years. That it had been solemnly sworn to by all our Kings, and had been always looked on as a necessary condition to their Inauguration, and as co-relative to the allegiance paid to their sacred Persons: That his present Majesty had taken on him this engagement, in like manner with his Predecessors; but though the Supremacy of the See of *Rome* had been constantly avowed by the *English Nation*, ever since she had received Christianity, through a period of 900 years, it was now become high Treason to acknowledge it, and another *Headship*, with which all Antiquity was unacquainted, set up in its stead, and the same penalty inflicted on those who refused to submit to it, as on Traitors and Felons. This, says the LEGATE, was the only crime of two of the greatest and most valuable men this or any other nation had been blessed with, *More* and *Fisher*, whom the King declared he had singled out, that their punishment might be a lesson to all others; and, not having spared persons of such eminence, no one, who should gainsay his will, might flatter himself with impunity: and in consequence of these arbitrary proceedings, he, the LEGATE, had been outlawed. But the King had not only removed the ancient Landmarks, which ascertained the Faith of his People; but invaded their Property, by ejecting many thousands out of their pos-

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possessions, and delivering them over to vagrancy and want. Every day gave birth to the introduction of some novelty in Religion, or to acts of Rapine and Cruelty: and the Parliament was so far from being a barrier to these outrages, that their slavish compliance armed the King with greater terror than the most absolute Monarchy, by making the Representatives of the People their joint Oppressors. That the Nation had declared the sense of its wrongs, by the measures it was now entering on to redress them*.

These are the reasons, which, in his Letters and other Works, where this part of his conduct is the subject, he alledges as the motives of it. As to the manner in which he behaved himself through the whole negotiation, he has given an account of it, first to Cardinal *Pio*, the Pope's Ambassador at the *French* Court, soon after the Insurrections in *England* were suppressed, and when there was no prospect of success from that quarter; and afterwards to *Edward VI.* on his accession. Both relations are drawn up with such ingenuous candor, that it must be very difficult to question the Writer's veracity, had we no other proof of it but his own word. These documents were made public when the affair was recent, which must have rendered any misrepresentation of no effect, especially to the latter: the Ministers of that Prince could not but be informed of every thing that then passed; and had the *LEGATE* been guilty of any imposture of this kind, they would not have failed to detect and expose it. Yet this is what was never attempted.

“One great purpose of my Embassy, says he, writing to *Pio*, was to promote a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and to dispose them to the convocation of a General Council.

* Lib. 1. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, passim.

Council. To this I must add what concerned the affairs of my own Country. My orders were to do every thing within my power for its welfare, and to settle its fluctuating state into that steadiness of Religion and Manners, in which, for many ages, it had set an example to all other Nations. In this I had no other views than such as were drawn from my love for my Country, my zeal for the King's honour, the tranquillity of the Christian Commonwealth, and the service of my Maker. This was the real end I proposed in my Legation with respect to *England*, and is such a one, I presume, as none will blame. The other point under consideration is, whether the means I employed were such as can be justified. There were two methods of applying the cure to a disease which had begun with the head, and infected the whole body of the Nation; and, though several judged the roughest remedies necessary in a case so desperate, and the People, by rising in arms, seemed to favour this method; for my own part, I always proposed the other expedient: it being my constant opinion, in opposition to many others, that lenity and moderation should take place; and if I have erred in any thing, it is in this. When I set out for the Court of *France*, I proposed to suggest no other method. The friendship which subsists between the two Kings, the personal regard of one of them for the Pope, and his reverence for the See of *Rome*, which the other had renounced, seemed very favourable to bring things to a happy conclusion. Who indeed could be so fit for such a negotiation as this Prince? especially as the Tumults and Seditions in *England* seemed to make such a step advisable to him who gave occasion to them, was he to consult nothing beyond his own interest. Had I been admitted to his Christian

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from it, at the instance of that Prince, for whose sake I had undertaken the journey. I omit many things, on which I had deliberated for the King of *England's* honour, and the universal joy of Christendom. If his Majesty, from any aversion to the Order of Men, of which I have the honour to be a member, had at first refused to treat with me, I had in my company a person, who, whilst he had almost the sole management of affairs under *Clement VII.* had given the strongest proofs of affection and zeal for the King's service; whose friendship the natives of our Country have experienced on all occasions; and whose good offices I have heard his Majesty often mention with a peculiar signification of gratitude. This person is the Bishop of *Verona*, who is in no less esteem with the most Christian King; and, which is much more to his commendation, has, by the integrity of his life, and a faithful discharge of all Episcopal Duties, given such an example of an irreproachable Prelate, as is scarcely to be matched in a long series of years. I judged this excellent man the most likely to prevail on both Kings to act in a manner agreeable to their dignity, and what the most important interests required of one: and with this view I prevailed on him to leave his Bishoprick, and accompany me.†

This is a part of the letter which the LEGATE wrote to Cardinal *Pio*. It is very long; and I have only cited what relates to the method he proposed to follow in what concerned *England*. The knowledge of his character to whom the letter is written, and who had a singular esteem for the LEGATE, will give weight to the contents, and

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. p. 33.

and cannot but entertain the Reader, especially S ECT. 2
 as there will be occasion to mention him else- IIII
 where.

Rodolphus Pio was descended from the Princes of *Carpi*, a small State within the Duchy of *Modena*: He was brought up at the University of *Padua*, and going thence to the Court of *Rome*, his good qualities recommended him to *Clement VII.* Being sent Ambassador to *France*, his talents for business began to be as much taken notice of as his probity had already been; and the succeeding Popes, on several occasions, testified their consideration for him. He was promoted to the Purple by *Paul III.* the year before the time I am speaking of; and soon after sent again Ambassador to *France*. He contributed to the interview of *Francis I.* and *Charles V.* at *Nice*; and the district of *Ancona* being afterwards committed to his care, he behaved so as to become a model of an Ecclesiastical Governor. He enlarged the Church of *Loretto*, which is in that jurisdiction; fortified the Port of *Ancona*; reformed abuses in the administration of justice; established order in the civil affairs, and provided for the general tranquillity and welfare of that Province. The Pope going to meet the Emperor between *Parma* and *Placentia* in 1543, he was appointed Governor of *Rome* during his absence; and afterwards of that part of the Ecclesiastical State, which goes by the name of the *Church's Patrimony*. He had the option of three of the principal Bishopricks near *Rome*, *Albi*, *Frescati*, and *Ostia*, which are always conferred on the most eminent Cardinals; was Protector of several Religious Orders, and Dean of the sacred College. *Sadolet* compliments him on his fine Library, and its being open to men of learning*. His merit,

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* Epist. l. 5. epist. 5.

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and the universal esteem he had gained, would probably have raised him to the Papacy, had he lived to see it again vacant. This amiable man died in 1564, in the 65th year of his age; and a beautiful monument, with an honourable inscription, has been raised to his memory in the Church of the *Trinity*, on Mount *Cælius*, in *Rome*, which Strangers visit among other curiosities of that city.

The LEGATE delivers himself to *Edward VI.* on the subject of his commission, with the same artless freedom with which he had opened it to Cardinal *Pio*. “ I am charged, says he, with having accepted an Embassy to several powerful Princes, with a design to stir them up to war against the King your Father. I readily grant, I was sent Ambassador to the Emperor and King of *France*, on *His* part, whose duty it was to seek, from every quarter, a remedy to those Evils, in which the King had involved himself and the whole Kingdom. But my aim with both these Princes tended to prevail on them to employ gentle and benevolent methods, in order to raise a Friend and Brother, who was fallen into the worst of extremities, and confirm him in his Royal state; not annoy and oppress him. Nothing could be farther from my disposition than a design to his disadvantage; nor did any thing, which could give the least indication of it, drop from me on this occasion. I could not but know of what weight their authority and example might be in so honourable a cause; and I intreated them to exert all their influence, that he would no longer persist in a separation from the Church, which was a common Parent, nor in a disagreement from all other Christian Princes. I will not deny, but that if offices of persuasion and friendship were to no effect, I then advised them to employ threats,

threats, and to break off all intercourse and communication with him. This is all I can be justly charged with against the King, to whom I was no otherwise an Enemy, than by endeavouring to restore him to himself, to his people, and, more than all the rest, to his God. Nor had I recourse to this last expedient, till his case was almost desperate; and then I applied it, with the utmost hazard of my own life: which sacrifice I was willing to make, rather than leave any thing unattempted, which might contribute to bring him to a sense of his condition, and withdraw him from utter ruin *.”

These passages sufficiently shew with how little justice the LEGATE has been accused of hatred to his Prince, and making use of all arts to distress him. His conduct on this head has been so far misrepresented by some Writers, as to suppose he aspired to the Throne, and gave himself all this trouble with that view: and one of our latest and most impartial Historians, who in general is very equitable to the CARDINAL's character, countenances this insinuation.

Having related the import of the LEGATE's commission, and his behaviour in it, the same letter to Cardinal *Pio* informs us of some curious anecdotes which prepared him for the disappointment, in which the whole was to conclude. The journey indeed made his virtues known and admired wherever he came; and gave proof of that patient wisdom, which is best seen where our hopes are abortive. As to the end for which it was undertaken, it was quite defeated by the political views of those Princes who had engaged to second it, by the change of affairs in *England*,

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* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4. pag. 306. Epist. ad Ed. R. § 45.
Mr *Hume*, vol. 1. of the *Tudors*, p. 225.

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and the small prospect of these taking a more favourable turn.

The Court of *England* interested itself too much in what concerned the CARDINAL, not to be informed of all the steps he had taken, and of the report of those he was soon to take; and this occasioned him to receive a very unusual mark of the consequence in which he was held, to whatever cause he attached himself. Soon after he had sent the treatise, *Of the Church's Unity*, to the King; and, as he was setting out for the *Low-Countries*, he received a letter, on the part of both Houses of Parliament; and that it might have the greater authority, each of the members of this illustrious body put his name to it. The Letter was a vehement Reproof of the abovementioned Work; and of the Author himself, for accepting the Cardinalate; and for making *Rome* his residence: together with an offer of a conference on the Religious Controversies, with which *England* was taken up, if he came into *Flanders* without a public character. If he had not yet accepted the Purple, it was a dissuasive from so doing. --- "He begins his reply by the highest signification of esteem and good-will to the august Assembly to whom he wrote; and desires them to weigh, with their wonted prudence, what he had to say for his Writings, and his present state of life. --- That being ordered by the King to send him his opinion of the Supremacy, he could not but comply with his orders; nor, according to the principles of the Religion which he professed, make any other answer than he had made. He desires them to read over the Work, and they would see it contained nothing more than what he said; unless, in the Conclusion, where he points out to the King, in the plainest and strongest terms, the means

means by which he may recover the reputation he has forfeited, free himself from danger, and recover the favour of God and Man. And as they had objected, that he had treated his Sovereign with too great freedom; he asks them, in his turn, if he has feigned any one article in the whole Charge? if he has advanced a single fact of his own head, or related it, as to the manner, otherwise than it happened? And this being the case, they must blame them, whose pernicious counsels had drawn the King into these shameful measures; not him, who, that he might see his shame, and retrieve his fall, disguised none of his misdeeds, though at the risk of forfeiting his favour. --- To their objection, that he had injured his Prince's honour, he observes, this must be in their estimate only who had read the Work; and that the King was the sole person, who as yet had a copy of it; whereas, had his design been to hurt his reputation, he might, with the greatest satisfaction of several eminent Potentates, have given it to the Public."

Having said this of the Work, he comes next to himself. "My Lords and Gentlemen, says he, by whose counsel the affairs of this Realm are governed, you have been long acquainted with me and my family. What is the reason that I have been so long deprived of my Country, Relations, and of every thing that is dear to man? am I an Outlaw? is a price put on my head? am I driven from home for any crime of mine, or of those I belong to? did I want means or ability to rise to honours in my Country? I appeal to you, most noble Duke of *Norfolk*, who have put your name to the letter, in which I am reproached with ingratitude; and I appeal to your conscience, if at the time when the Pope's authority and the Divorce were first called in question,

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and my opinion asked, any one would have been promoted to the See of *York* preferably to myself, had I acquiesced to what the King desired. I appeal to you, I say, because you discouraged me on this head, not once only, but a second and a third time; and at length told me, that the King, seeing I could not be brought over to his measures, had lain aside all further thought of conferring on me the Archbishoprick: but you, from the affection you bore me, had prevailed on his Majesty to defer nominating any one else, till you had made a last effort on me. What disposition did you, my Lord, then discover in me? What answer did I make to the offer of such preferment? That the King's honour and welfare were dearer to me than any emolument I could propose to myself; and that I could not assent to what he required of me, without giving up all concern for both.

He then comes to their objection of his residing at *Rome*, and desires them to consider, "whether in this he did any thing inconsistent with his former life. --- As it has ever been my fixed opinion, says he, that we owe a deference to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, I was to obey the summons I received from him, to go to *Rome*. But this has nothing to do with my attachment to my Sovereign; and is only the effect of my persuasion as to a particular tenet. My love for him was still the same, though I disagreed with him in this point. --- You may perhaps reply, as indeed you tell me in your letter, that this persuasion is vain, and destitute of all foundation. To which, my Lords and Gentlemen, I must answer in the following manner: Supposing I had a contest with you on any military affair, in which most of you are as skilful as I am ignorant, you might, with much reason, tell

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tell me, it was fitting I should assent to you, rather than you to me: so in the present Controversy about a point of Doctrine, in which you are less expert, and I have spent my life, and given up all other pretensions, that I might be thoroughly acquainted with the merits of the cause; I may justly ask you to defer to me, and to the cause of truth, rather than endeavour to bring me over to your way of thinking. --- But, not to speak of myself, if you imagine your Ancestors knew any thing of the matter in debate, these sentiments came strongly recommended to you from them; or, if you consult the upright and learned men in other Kingdoms, you will find, that each one, in proportion as he is knowing and pious, is an abettor of them."

As to what the Parliament had written to him, that in accepting the Cardinalate, he declared himself the King's Enemy; he asks them, "if the King was at enmity with that dignity in which there was no malevolence; that quality being inherent not to an Order, but to the Individuals, of whom it was made up; and a person might be a friend to the King, and yet a Cardinal. --- But the Pope, you say, is the King's enemy. To which he replies, That he who had the most frequent opportunity of hearing and knowing the Pontiff's sentiments, had never discovered any but those of a Parent, both towards his Majesty and his People. --- That the honours he had received, were conferred on him with a view to the credit and emolument of the *English* Nation, and had been accepted by him with the like dispositions. --- That he was about to set out on an Embassy for their honour and advantage, and nothing should hinder him from exerting himself in such a cause. And whereas they had signi-

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fied to him, that if he came in a private character into the *Low-Countries*, they had prevailed on the King to send over some persons to confer with him on the disputes which then divided the Nation; he likewise had obtained of the Pope to treat with them, either in *France* or *Flanders*, as should be most convenient to the King's Majesty and to themselves. --- That they ought not to take a causeless exception against the name of *Cardinal*, because one of that Order had lately been the source of all these disorders; but hope, that though he had been pernicious, another might be salutary. That if this was to be effected by the best of intentions, by care, by a desire of their welfare and the King's honour, they were assured of all this from him. But if they imagined he was to be prevailed on to relinquish his principles, he let them know, there was no interest, no tie, he was not ready to sacrifice to them.

He ends with desiring them to weigh well the part they were to take, the tumults which the late innovations had raised, and further disturbances which might ensue on the like changes: That the cause was of such a nature, as not to affect only the King's honour and the Nation's tranquillity, in this transitory scene, but extended to a future state of existence, and to a Judgment-seat, at which those must be tried, who prefer the uncertainty of their own opinions to that inviolable Rule, which He who is to preside at that Tribunal has prescribed \*."

As soon as it was known that the LEGATE was to take his road through *France*, *John de Selva*, Bishop of *Lavador*, and Ambassador for that Nation

\* Apologia ad Angliæ Parliamentum, Epist. Reg. Poli, pars 1. pag. 179.

† Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. epist. 28.



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Nation to the Republic of *Venice*, acquainted him, by a very elegant and polite letter, that he had written to the High Steward of *France*, to inform him of the quality of the illustrious Guest he was soon to receive, and made no doubt but he would shew him all the regard he was intitled to †. This Prelate had been his cotemporary at *Padua*, and had there conceived an admiration for his merit, which he retained ever after: being taken off in the prime of life, he had rather an opportunity of raising an expectation, than leaving a great name.

The LEGATE left *Rome* early in the year 1537, with a retinue suited to his birth, his character, and the importance of the negotiation. Amongst those who accompanied him, were *Matthæw Giberti*, Bishop of *Verona*, who, from the esteem he had conceived for him on his first coming to *Italy*, would, in a declining age, undergo the inconveniencies of so long a journey, and all the hazards of an affair, the event of which was very equivocal; by *Lewis Priuli*, a *Venetian* Nobleman, of whom mention has been already made; by *Becatelli*, his Secretary, who was afterwards Bishop of *Ragusa*, and wrote his Life; and by several other persons of rank and merit. He was on his journey in Lent, and the Diet of that season not agreeing with his constitution, he found his health and strength much impaired. His Secretary had mentioned this in a letter to *Contarini*; who, writing soon after to the LEGATE, and taking notice of the obligation he was under of taking care of himself, intreats him to have a deference, in what regarded this article, to the advice of the Bishop of *Verona* and *Priuli*. I should not have mentioned this particular, which may appear inconsiderable, but as it gave occa-

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sion

† Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. epist. 52.



SECTION III. sion to some reflections equally solid and useful.

III. s. "There is no illusion more dangerous, says that judicious Cardinal, in his letter to the LEGATE, than what pious and otherwise prudent men fall into, when they persuade themselves that a confidence in the divine Assistance makes caution and forecast superfluous; whereas these notions are in reality the effect of presumption and pride."

The LEGATE, in his answer, which is dated 28th Feb from *Bononia*, assures him, "he had submitted to his opinion, however contrary to his own way of thinking: That his reason for not deferring sooner to the judgment of his two friends, was the fear of giving offence, which would be of so much more pernicious consequence, as his Character laid him more open to observation, and as he was desirous to avoid even the appearance of evil: but if this point could not be gained without transgressing on a more material duty, he should do as they prescribed, yet with such moderation, as, unless necessity obliged him, not to depart from the common rule, and give others a pretext for doing so." The temper indeed of mankind has always been such, as to exact example from those who undertake to instruct or reform; and, where this has been wanting, precepts and discourse have been found ineffectual.

He desires *Contareni* to intreat the Pope to recommend, in his daily supplications to Almighty God, both himself, and the business he was charged with, as he had promised him on his leaving *Rome*. He represents this as more important than his health, of which his Friend was so solicitous, and insists on it through a great part of his letter. "It may seem singular, says he, that I should ask nothing else, when I took leave of his Holiness, than what is asked of the most insignificant Monk, that he would be mindful of me

in



in his prayers: but it can only appear so to those who are ignorant of the efficacy of prayer. It is beyond common belief; nor do I find words to express the alacrity I have experienced on other occasions, when I had recommended my undertakings to the Almighty, through the petitions of his servants; nor should I be credited, was I to relate the difficulties, the anguishes of mind, with which my early years were particularly assailed, and which I have surmounted by this sole method\*." --- I am afraid the request will now a days seem still more singular than at the time it was made; for though the supplications offered to *Jupiter* by a *Roman* Consul, and the public worship of *Osiris*, with which the laws of *Egypt* obliged their Kings to begin the day, give no offence to a learned Antiquary, or a fashionable Unbeliever; yet he reads, with scorn and contempt, that a Christian Ambassador should lay any stress on the interposition of the Vicegerent of that Being who overrules all events, and *beneath whom those are bowed who uphold the world*. Thus Job. Every moral is well received, provided it be not drawn from Christianity; and no example can want admirers but His, *who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life*.

The LEGATE being arrived at *Placentia*, informed *Contareni*, that since the person who was employed to bring him intelligence had left *England*, he had heard nothing of the meeting in the North, on which, says he, every thing depends: and the winter being long in those parts, he hoped to reach the Neighbourhood, from whence he might be serviceable to the cause, before it could be convened. Some things likewise had happened at *Rome* since his departure, which are not specified; and *Contareni* having

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2 pag. 25.



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encouraged him to pursue with magnanimity what he had undertaken, he was very desirous to open his whole mind to him on this subject, as soon as he had leisure, which his expeditious manner of travelling had hitherto denied him. Being now at *Placentia*, he wrote to his Friend, "that all his company was gone out to see the City, though the decorum of his Character, or, as he terms it, his golden shackles, did not allow him to appear in public. He took therefore that opportunity of throwing himself out on paper, on the whole purpose of the Embassy, with the same unreservedness they were accustomed to in their private conversations." His present situation naturally put him on this review; though, as we learn from his own account, he had canvassed the affair very accurately before he embarked in it. He was now removed from the avocations of the Promoters of his Journey, and the Scene of Action was now at hand: "That I have undertaken, says he, a great and difficult affair, no one sees more clearly than myself; but this prospect does not frighten me. It appeared indeed so very intricate to some of our friends, who have the highest reputation for prudence, that they made no difficulty of saying publicly, they could not but admire my courage, and, if they had cared to speak out, they would have said my rashness. Others again blame my simplicity, in suffering myself to be drawn into an affair equally troublesome and hazardous. What can I say to all this? I shall make no reply to my Objectors, but say many things to myself, and to you my friend also, which is the same as to think aloud †." The rest of the letter is wanting; and we have reason to regret what is lost, as it would probably have given

† Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. epist. 15. A. B. C.



given us a great insight into the Writer's sagacity in foreseeing dangers, and his steadiness in not being moved at them.

Having staid a day at *Placentia*, he continued his journey, and as soon as he entered the *French* dominions, was every where received, by that Monarch's orders, with particular marks of distinction. At *Lyons* he first perceived that the Appointments of the Embassy were by no means answerable to the exigencies of so large a Retinue, and wrote to *Contareni* to ask an augmentation of the Pope, as all supplies from his own fortunes were intercepted: and the Pope, on this representation, though he did not think proper to augment the appointments, it being the regulated sum for Ambassadors out of *Italy*, yet he allowed him, by way of extraordinary subsidy, to draw for what sums he should stand in need of.

1500  
ducats.

But an Incident of far other importance than the abovementioned, happened whilst he was at *Lyons*, and this was the news he received of the defeat of the Insurgents, in which the Leaders had been taken Prisoners, and put to death. At the same time it was reported, that the King, in order to give some satisfaction to the People, had promised the Malcontents a meeting at *York*, where the Religious Grievances which had caused these tumults, should be discussed: that the day appointed for the meeting, which was to have been at the end of *March*, had been put off to the 24th of *June*: but, then, even this report had lost credit, and no other meeting was expected than that which was lately held at *London*, where all former proceedings had been ratified with greater violence than they were first enacted\*.

Though this unexpected turn of affairs seemed to disconcert all the LEGATE's measures with respect

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. epist. 19. Paulo Pont. pag. 51.



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spect to *England*, he resolved to leave nothing undone, on his part, in order to bring them to a desirable conclusion, and set out for *Paris*. His entry into that City was attended with every demonstration of respect from the Clergy and the People; but the King, who with the Court was at a small distance from the Capital, signified to him, on the very day of his arrival, that he could not admit him to treat of the business he came on, nor even permit him to make any stay in his dominions: he desired him, therefore, not to ask an Audience, which he should be obliged to deny, and to leave the Kingdom without delay. At the same time, he assured the LEGATE, that this proceeding was contrary to his own inclinations, and had been extorted from him at the instance of a Prince, who was a declared Enemy to the LEGATE, to his Order, and to the purpose of his Embassy: but that the pressing necessity of his own affairs did not allow him to act otherwise.

This exigency was the flame of war, which had been lighted up for some years between the Houses of *Austria* and *Valois*, and now raged with all that fury which the mad ambition of rival and powerful Princes can kindle. Some time before, the Emperor had entered *France*, by the *Pyrenean* Mountains, at the head of 148,000 men, and had already assigned to the *Grande*s, who accompanied him, the several Provinces and Departments of a Kingdom, which he looked upon as conquered. This formidable preparation had that event in which, it were to be wished, all such attempts might end; shame and disappointment. But this, instead of allaying, had only quickened the bent of the contending Parties to annoy one another: and each of them was desirous that his Rival should declare against the King of *England*,  
and,



and, by that means, engage that Prince's interest to himself.

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With this view alone, though others were pretended, it may be presumed their Ambassadors had been so importunate for the LEGATE's departure from *Rome*, and had promised him every assistance, by which their respective Masters could further the success of it. *Henry*, who very well knew his own importance, had given them both to understand, that any countenance shewn to the LEGATE should be followed by a rupture on his part; and this check alone on Princes, who were guided by considerations which began and ended in themselves, might have evinced the inutility of any scheme to the King of *England's* disadvantage, in which their concurrence was necessary. Yet, as the spring of Hope ever rises in the human breast, we shall see, within less than two years after this project was defeated, a second set on foot, on the same foundation, and, like this, vanishing in apparatus.

The *French* King's orders to leave his dominions, were intimated to the LEGATE both by letter and a verbal message delivered to him by one of the Court; and as they contained no more than the Public was necessarily to be informed of, no precaution was made use of to conceal them: but there was a secret Article, demanded by the *English* Court, which *Francis* had suppressed, for the honour of his Ally; and which he refused to comply with, for his own. The LEGATE was privately given to understand, that *Henry's* Ambassadors had insisted on his being cast into irons, and put into their hands, in order to be conveyed to *England*. This demand had likewise reached the ears of some of his former acquaintance, who were then at *Paris*, and alarmed them in such a manner, that they came to him immediately on his



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his arrival, and conjured him to leave the Kingdom with the utmost expedition. He gives an account of these particulars in his letters to Cardinal *Pio*, and to the Pope; and giving scope to that indignation, which naturally rises in an upright mind at such treatment, he breaks out into the following reflections: "That this demand tended to banish all good faith from society, and was the highest indignity which could be offered the most Christian King: that the plea of friendship, which subsisted between the two Crowns, was a vain pretext, as the first law of that sacred band was to ask nothing of our friends, but what was consistent with their honour; and, that a contrary behaviour dissolved the tie. He could not but wonder at the *French* King's forbearance in not shewing a suitable resentment at a demand which must suppose him void of worth and principle, and regardless of the common Rights of mankind, by which the character of those who are sent on public business has been an inviolable protection to their persons. That this Maxim was so universal, that had he been sent to a public Robber, instead of a King of *France*, he could hardly imagine any of the fraternity would have been so unmindful of the Law of Nature, as to ask that he should be delivered up to them. He cites what has been celebrated by *Cicero* as a peculiar instance of *Cato's* felicity, *that none had ever dared to ask any thing of him, which was dishonourable*; and concludes with the mean and contemptible opinion one man must entertain of another, who is not ashamed to make him a proposal of the greatest infamy \*."

The *French* King softened the seeming harshness of the orders for the LEGATE's immediate departure, by treating him in every other respect with

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. p. 25. & p. 50.



with great deference and good-will. He caused particular honours to be paid him at the time the orders were intimated. He admitted, at his request, the Bishop of *Verona* to his presence, with whom he had repeated conferences; and appointed a company of his Guards to attend the LEGATE to the frontiers of his Kingdom.

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The disappointment he met with at the *French* Court was only a specimen of what he was to encounter in the sequel of this affair. Had he found there a different welcome, he was only to take it in his way to the *Netherlands*: here he was to take up his residence, as a place more safe and convenient, in case *England* should be shut to him. Though *Francis I.* had paid no regard to the subject of his Embassy, and caused him to leave his States almost as soon as he had entered them, yet he had entertained his Guest, in his passage, with great humanity, and provided him an honourable Escort to the place of his destination. The LEGATE had promised himself a still more friendly reception at his arrival into the Emperor's dominions, and all the assistance which that Prince's Ambassadors had stipulated before he left *Rome*. This is the manner in which he contrasts the behaviour of these Sovereigns. Being come, therefore, to *Cambray*, which was then a free and neutral City, he dispatched one of his retinue to *Brussels*, where *Eleonora*, Sister to *Charles V.* the Dowager Queen of *Hungary*, and Governess of the Low Countries, then kept her Court. But though the Messenger carried a letter, by which the LEGATE notified his arrival to the Bishop and Prince of *Liege*, who was of the Queen's Council, and then at *Brussels*, he was not permitted to pursue his journey; but after being detained by the Governor of *Valenciennes*, who was Brother to the Bishop of *Cambray*, was sent back; and the reason



reason assigned for this proceeding was, that he came from *France*, and could not be suffered to go any farther till the Queen's pleasure was known. But the LEGATE had been informed, that an Agent from the King of *England* was lately arrived at that Court; and soon perceived, that the same reasons of state, which prevailed on the *French* King to have him quit his dominions in such haste, now caused the Emperor to exclude him, and all who belonged to him, from his. Could he have had any doubt of this fact, what happened during a whole month he was at *Cambray*, must have put it beyond all question. As none of his own family were allowed to approach the Queen, he had never ceased by third persons to solicit a safeguard into her Brother's territories, without being able to procure it. At length the Bishop of *Cambray* sent a person, on his own part, to the Prince of *Liege*; and though it is only one day's journey, the Messenger did not come back till after ten. On his return he brought no letter (such was the pedantic formality of *Austrian* politics) but only a verbal message from the Prince, which gave the LEGATE but slender hopes of being able to leave, with safety, the place where he was; but notified to him the dangers to which he was exposed, and the snares which were laid for him. At the same time, this generous Prelate made him an offer of every thing he was master of, and took on himself to provide for his safety and convenience, if he thought proper to reside in his Principality. The LEGATE, in his present circumstances, would have preferred this party to any other, could it have been accepted in a manner becoming his character, for he did not approve of travelling in disguise, as the Prince proposed. He prevailed therefore on the Bishop, whose Guest he still was, to send his Archdeacon,  
a person



a person of singular parts and integrity, to Court, and charged him with proper instructions. This second Messenger, after eleven days stay, returned with an answer from the Queen and the Prince, to the following effect: "that as soon as the affair had been debated in Council, her Majesty would send a proper Safeguard to escort the LEGATE to *Liege*, where his Highness promised him a reception answerable to all his occasions."

The situation he was in at *Cambray* could not well be more disagreeable. The whole Country was infested by *French* and *German* Freebooters, who made it unsafe to go out of the Gates of the City; and the Inhabitants suffered little less than in a Blockade. He had, besides, every thing to apprehend from the *English*, who were continually passing to and fro, some of whom had been taken in a design on his life. The Bishop, who on his arrival had received him with great civility, began now, on perceiving the coldness of the Court of *Brussels*, to regulate his own dispositions by those of his Superiors, and betrayed a change of behaviour, which could not escape the notice of his Guest. This Courtly Prelate was In 1542. of the house of *Crouii*, and five years after, delivered up to the Emperor the City of which he was Bishop, and had the principal jurisdiction; and which had preserved its Liberty during some centuries. In this confinement the LEGATE had full leisure to write a long and accurate letter to the Pope, in which, besides the particulars of his journey since he left *Rome*, he replies to the orders which the Pontiff, on hearing there was no longer any prospect of a change in the *English* affairs, had sent him to repair to *Rome*, that he might assist at the general Council, which he proposed soon to open at *Mantua*, though it was af-

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terwards put off for some years, and then held at *Trent*.

“ He begins by assuring the Pope of his readiness to obey his commands; but as his return to *Italy* would, at that time, be very hazardous, and there were some reasons which seemed to favour his stay in those parts, he thought it his duty to lay them before his Holiness, who might resolve, when he had weighed them, on what he judged most expedient. But before I enter on these considerations, says he, I shall, most holy Father, represent to you what may seem to corroborate your own sentiment, and hasten my immediate departure. The cause for which I undertook this journey, is now become so desperate, as not to deserve the least risk should be run for it: nor can your Holiness be taxed with inconsiderateness in undertaking, or with levity in laying it aside, since the difference of circumstances justifies both proceedings. These measures were concerted when the People of *England* were in arms, and had men of birth and ability to head them, and the cause, on the whole, promised success. That the *English* Ministry were under these apprehensions, is apparent from the efforts they made to hinder me from a nearer approach: but, now, the Insurrection is quelled, and the Leaders put to death. If any hopes yet remain, some degree of security is necessary to the person who is to revive them; which is so far from being the case, that I see nothing but danger from all parts; and, therefore, the censure will fall, not on my being recalled, but continuing where I am. This consideration has still more weight, as I seem to be the only Minister who can be charged with such a negotiation; and though that which I am now engaged in, has proved unsuccessful, yet his Holiness's forecast would be acknowledged in sending



sending me, at such a juncture, to a People disposed as the *English* then seemed to be; though his vigilance and sagacity could not command events, which were not in man's disposal, but in the good pleasure of the Almighty. ---- He then proceeds to the reasons which seemed to make a longer stay in the neighbourhood of *England* advisable; all which, he says, may be reduced to that capital one, the cause for which the journey was undertaken; for if this was of such moment as to deserve all the care and expence which had hitherto been employed, it ought to have no less weight in preventing its being entirely given up, till it fully appeared whether any thing further could be effected. That there could be no doubt but his precipitate departure would dispirit those whose welfare was so earnestly desired, and give their adversaries all the advantage they could wish. That, if his Country received no seasonable assistance, but was left at large to transmit to posterity the errors which then prevailed, succeeding times would undertake a difficult and perhaps a fruitless work in endeavouring to bring her back to her ancient rites: the zeal, therefore, of all well-wishers to the common cause of Christianity should be answerable to the obstinacy of those who strive to pervert her received doctrines, and rend, for ever, so fair a portion from the communion of the Catholic Church; nor did it appear how this zeal could be more effectually exerted, than by placing in their sight one of their own nation, whose reputation had always been unblemished, and his religious principles pure and unchanged; whose example and authority might have an influence on them, before the remembrance of the paths they had forsaken was quite obliterated, and all further concern about them lain aside: and be such a one as to shew more by deeds than speeches,



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that no dangers were capable of intimidating him when the welfare of his Country was at stake. That the natural effect of the King's late proceedings was to exasperate the minds of the people and instruct them in greater caution, as the Insurrection had been appeased, first, by fair words and promises, by which the Leaders were deceived, and then put to death: but that the same wrongs still subsisted, and the same inclination to redress them: and if they had any hopes in a Chief, opportunities of asserting their rights could never be wanting in the present ferment. This prospect, indeed, might be distant, but ought still to be kept in view; and there was no forbearance but should be submitted to, when such a point was to be gained. He concludes with observing, he was not ignorant that he incurred the indignation of a powerful King, who was his avowed enemy, and would leave nothing untried to destroy him: that he had already threatened to compass this by the same means by which *Philip of Macedon* said the strongest fortresses might be taken, if they were accessible to Mules laden with gold, and had declared he would employ 100,000 broad pieces to be Master of him alive or dead\*." 18th May, 1537.

This is the sum of the LEGATE's dispatch, which is penned with such judgment, that the Pope sent it to be transcribed by the Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, as a model on which public persons might form their manner of writing.

His friend *Contareni* wrote to him about the same time, that his not assuming a public Character, though he was sent on an embassy of such consequence, seemed to derogate from the dignity of the holy See; and therefore he advised him neither to leave the place with any unbecoming hurry, nor yet be buried there in obscurity any

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 46.



any longer. To this he replied, that *Contareni* need be under no apprehensions of his not being as conspicuous as his character required, since the Court of *England*, by their Spies and Emis-faries, took care to make him more known than he desired, not only in that, but in all the neighbouring states; and that all his motions were so narrowly watched, that an Army might decamp with greater privacy than he could stir from one place to another\*.

Having staid six weeks at *Cambray* he set out for *Liege* with the Escort, which, after much un-generous shuffling, was at last sent him from *Brussels*: nor did he perform this journey, short as it was, without much danger and difficulty. Soon after his arrival he wrote to the Pope, ex-  
10th June.  
tolling the generous hospitality of the Prince and Bishop of that City, and the honourable retreat and daily good offices he received from him. As gratitude seems to have been a cardinal virtue of our illustrious Countryman, he signified the same to the sacred College, and informs them, moreover, that the inhabitants of the Capital, at their Prince's desire, had testified so much good-will and regard for his person, that nothing more was wanting either to his safety or dignity. He requests them to signify their acknowledgments to the Prince, for such marks of distinction shewn to one of their College; which they did in a manner suited to the Prince's desert, and their own sense of it†.

30th June.

This retreat did not shelter him from *Henry's* secret intrigues, and open attempts to rid himself of a person whose zeal for the civil and religious rights of his Country made him at once the object of a Tyrant's hatred and fears. His Agents

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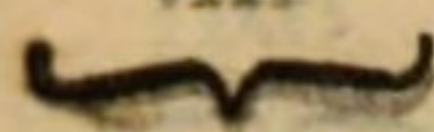
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\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 58, & 59.

† Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 59, 61, 63.



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III.

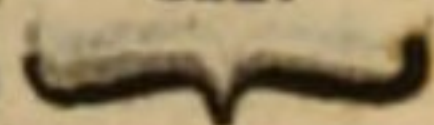


From the  
beginning  
of June to  
the 11th of  
August 1535

employed every stratagem to oblige him to leave the neighbourhood of *England*, and go back to *Rome*; and, these failing, they resolved to take away his life. The King had already attainted him of high Treason, confiscated all his fortunes, and put a reward of 15,000 crowns on his head. He had not been many days at *Liege*, when a letter from the *English* Ambassador at the Court of *Brussels* to one of his countrymen was intercepted, in which he gave him repeated assurances, "how agreeable the execution of what they had discoursed on would be to his *Britannic* Majesty, and that he might expect a recompence answerable to the service." The person thus employed, says the LEGATE, came to him under pretence of being banished his Country; and, wanting other means of subsistence, desired to be admitted into his family: but either from the misgivings of his own mind, or the consciousness of guilt, being come to town in the evening, he left it on the morrow, before break of day; and, if his stay had been longer, would have been cast into prison\*. He had several other escapes of the same kind, in which the malevolence of his enemies, and the watchfulness of a good Providence over his preservation, were equally visible. But that a more attested evidence of *Henry's* dispositions might be extant, he made an offer to the Privy Council of *Flanders*, of which the Prince of *Liege* was a member, to furnish them with 4,000 Infantry, and keep them ten months in his pay, if they surrendered the LEGATE to him. The answer he made, on the Prince's signifying to him this proposal, manifested the christian disposition of his mind, and that contempt of life, which is one of those qualities which constitute heroic Virtue. "The King, says he,

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. pag. 66.





he, is deceived if he intends me harm: he would, by taking away my life, procure me a repose beyond the reach of any further trouble he could give me; and would behave, in my regard, as one who helps another to put off his clothes, that he may go to rest \*."

His stay at *Liege* was about three months, during which the King of *England's* ascendant over the Malcontents of the Nation, and the little prospect of the *French* and Imperial Courts inter-  
 resting themselves in their cause, gave him fully to understand what was to be the issue of the Embassy. But though all the functions of the Minister were locked up, through want of opportunity to exert them, the *Man* never appeared in a more amiable and instructive light. He excelled in domestic life, no less than in the most exalted stations; and practised in this retirement all those Virtues, which, without putting the faculties to the stretch, constitute the perfection of our nature. This has been transmitted to us in the following instances. *Contareni*, on sending him the Pope's permission to draw on the Treasury for what supplies he found necessary, had cautioned him to use this Grant with moderation, as the Exchequer was greatly incumbered. On this he desired his friend *Priuli* to state the detail of his expence; and, when it was drawn up with the utmost precision, he sent it to be examined at *Rome*, as what would clear him from all suspicion of want of oeconomy. But, not contented with this, that he might do justice to all who were charged with the management of his household concerns, he certified they were so frugal, that if the Cenfor *Cato* himself was to overlook the accounts, he would find nothing to retrench. The Bishop of *Verona*, though he was appointed

From the beginning of June to the 21st of Aug. 1537.

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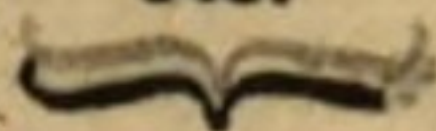
SECT.  
III

to assist him in affairs of the highest moment, yet had condescended to enter into this minute computation: His presence alone, says the LEGATE, is sufficient to check all superfluities, and to cause decency and order †. However unfashionable this detail may appear to a spendthrift and thoughtless Age, it was in great repute with that People, from whom we are very fond of drawing parallels, and whose virtues we admire whilst we copy their vices. In the most flourishing state of that Republic, they placed Frugality not only among the duties of a good Citizen, but of a great Magistrate.

The manner in which the LEGATE, and the principal persons of his household, spent their time during their stay at *Liege*, was not less instructive than their oeconomy of the public money. The morning, unless business called them abroad, was employed in their apartments, till an hour and a half before dinner, when all met in a domestic Chapel, and performed in common the divine office, at which the Bishop of *Verona* presided, as Master of Ceremonies. The Mass succeeded to this part of the Liturgy, after which they dined. *St Bernard's* Works were read at the beginning of table; they then conversed. When dinner was ended, the Bishop generally read to the company a chapter in *Eusebius's Preparation of the Gospel*; which useful Work, as we learn from the Preface, inscribed by *Donatus* of *Verona* to *Paul III.* he had lately caused to be translated into the Latin tongue. When this was over, discourse for an hour or two was again resumed, and then each retired till an hour and a half before supper. They all then assembled and sang the remaining part of the divine Office; and that being ended, the LEGATE every other day

† Vita Card. Poli, pag. 64.





day expounded Saint *Paul's* Epistles, having begun with those to *Timothy*, in which the Duties of Churchmen, especially of the higher Order, are set forth and recommended. He undertook this task at the intreaty of his Household, and acquitted himself of it to the highest satisfaction of them all, and chiefly of the Bishop of *Verona*. "How often have I wished, says *Priuli*, in a letter to *Becatelli*, who was absent, that you and the Bishop of *Fano*, were present at the Lectures of this excellent Man; and were witnesses of the reverence, humility and judgment, with which he discharges himself of this Exposition: they are so remarkable, that I can raise my ideas no higher; nor do I think my love for him makes me partial in this estimate. I hope to retain enough to give you a specimen at our first meeting." They supped after the Lecture; and then, as it was the summer season, they took the relaxation of a walk, or a barge on the *Maese*, and in discourses becoming such company. "We constantly regret, says *Priuli*, in the same letter, the absence of *Becatelli* and my Lord of *Fano*; and desire they might partake with us in this delightful and irreproachable manner of passing our time; and we send up our joint thanksgivings to the Author of our happiness. How often does my Lord LEGATE repeat to me, *Certe Deus nobis haec otia fecit?* to which he never fails to add, Why is not my Lord *Contareni* with us \*!"

It may be with truth asserted, that this great Man possessed his soul in patience and thankfulness under those pressures, which minds less injured to Christian Philosophy, look upon as misfortune and distress: That the pomp and ostentation

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 104, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.



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tation of that Court which persecuted him, was effaced by the shades and by-paths of his retirements; and his evening-walks on the banks of the *Maese*, more illustrious in a discerning eye, than the march of *Francis I.* or *Charles V.* at the head of a hundred thousand men.

I cannot but here take notice of a remarkable difference between this Christian distribution of the day, which was observed by the LEGATE and his Family, and what *Cocbleus* relates to have been practised, much about the same time, by *Luther* and his reforming Companions at *Smalcald.* “In this meeting, says he, *Luther* and his Disciples used every artifice to oppose the General Council, which was then about to be held; and there was no extravagance they did not run into on this subject. Whilst the Pope, in the most solemn manner, declared that his only view in calling the Council was, That the whole World might be united in the Sheepfold of JESUS CHRIST; and each one live soberly, justly, and chastely, in true faith, hope and charity; and thus receive the crown of righteousness: they amused the Public with Lampoons, Epistles from *Beelzebub*, and such like buffooneries\*.” The relater of this fact was a cotemporary Author, who had every opportunity of being informed of it, and is so unexceptionable a voucher, as to deserve the following character from *Thuanus*. “*John Cocbleus*, says this Historian, was a native of *Nurembourg*, and Canon of *Breslaw*. He excelled in Theology, as appears from what he writ in defence of the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, and of the Catholic Church. His skill in Controversy appeared in the Conferences with the Divines of the Protestant party at *Augsburg*, *Ratisbon*

\* *Cocblæi* Comment. de Actis et Scriptis Luth. ad ann. 1537.



*tisbon* and *Worms*, in which he gained great reputation. He died on the 10th of *January*, 1552.†

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The cause for which the LEGATE's journey was undertaken, having now no appearance of support in *England*, his residence in the neighbourhood of that kingdom was judged no longer necessary; especially as those Powers, who alone could shew any countenance to it, had refused to give him so much as a bare hearing on it. The dangers likewise to which his own life lay daily open, and the inconveniences to which any longer stay might expose the generous Prince in whose city he was; and who, in defiance of the threats of the *English* Court, continued every mark of disinterested friendship to him, moved the Pope to reiterate the orders he had lately given him of returning to *Rome*: and the General Council, which was fixed on the beginning of *November*, made his presence greatly desired at that juncture.

“ His Holiness, in his letter, signifies his concern for the unfortunate conclusion of the Embassy, and for having exposed the LEGATE to so many labours and dangers to no purpose: That he comforted himself however with the consciousness of his own integrity, and the LEGATE's fortitude, to whom the detriment of the public cause had been more grievous than any consideration which touched himself: That this Christian generosity appeared both in his and the Bishop of *Verona*'s letters; and it was but fitting that he, the Pope, should enter into the same sentiments, and submit to the divine Appointment: but that he could do no less than exempt so valuable a Minister from any further danger, and have him near his person, as his prudence

† *Tbuani Hist. lib. xi.*



30th June

dence could not but be very seasonable in the many weighty affairs which were soon to be discussed \*.” He wrote also to the King of the Romans, “That the LEGATE being to take his road through the states of the Empire, his Majesty was intreated to provide every thing for his security; and to write to those Princes, through whose territories he was to pass, to do the same. He recommended the same care to the Elector of Cologne †.

21st July,

1537.

Before the LEGATE left *Liege*, he thanked, by letter, the three principal Ministers at *Brussels*, *de Prat*, *Scerper*, and the Archbishop of *Palermo*, for the instances of humanity they had shewn him; and informed them of the signal obligations he had to the Prince, under whose hospitable roof he still was. The expressions he makes use of seem to indicate, that these Statesmen had been so far serviceable to him, as was consistent with the politics of a Court entirely under the guidance of the Emperor. They had signified their dispositions in his regard to the Bishop of *Verona*, who was allowed to go to *Brussels*, though the LEGATE was not. He desires the Archbishop to assure the Queen of his respects; and, the overflowings of a grateful heart breaking out, he delivers himself on the subject of the Prince of *Liege*, with a warmth which might well make those Courts blush, which, notwithstanding all their engagements, had performed nothing. “He has behaved, says he, in my regard, not only with the tenderness of the best of Friends, but with the munificence of an opulent Monarch; and I could not but give you the pleasure of hearing the commendations of

\* Epist. Reginaldi Pclli, pars 2. pag. 273, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.

† Ibidem.



of this excellent man, whom you love and honour\*.”

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The princely generosity of this Prelate was the more commendable, as it was conferred on a stranger; but as this stranger was an *Englishman*, it has a peculiar right to be recorded here, from the following passage in *Priuli's* letter to *Becattelli*. “To-morrow we set out on our return to *Italy*. Since my last, in which I gave you an account of the hospitality with which the Prince has regaled my Lord the LEGATE, and shewn him on all occasions a more than paternal affection; his Highness has not ceased to give him, every day and almost every hour, some fresh demonstration of these dispositions. Amongst others, he cancelled a Note of 1500 crowns, which the LEGATE had taken up on his coming here, and returned it to him. Two days after, he made him a present of 2000 crowns, requesting he would receive them as a token of his love, and lay them out in a service of plate, or in whatever manner was most agreeable to him. All resistance was to no purpose; he was constrained to accept the sum, and has already written to a friend in *Italy* to order the plate, with the Arms of his Benefactor. As the LEGATE had been informed of the risk he was to run, in his way to *Italy*, from the *English* Emis-saries, the Prince has spent three days in consulting with those who are acquainted with the roads, and taking every precaution for the safety of his noble Guest. Such accuracy and forecast does Friendship either find or create in great and elegant minds.”

21st Aug.  
1537.

That I may not be wanting to the reputation of a person who deserved so well of our Country,  
by

\* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 2. pag. 48, et seq.

† *Ibid.* pag. 102, *Diatribæ* ad *Epist.*



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by his behaviour to One who was the ornament of it, the Reader will give me leave to trace out a short sketch of his character. He was son to *Robert I. Duke of Bouillon*, and of *Jane of Morlay*. His family name was *la Marc*, and he received in baptism that of *Everard*. He was chosen Bishop and Prince of *Liege* in 1505; and having first declared himself in favour of *France*, and been gratified with the Bishoprick of *Charters*, he afterwards went over to the interests of *Charles V.* in opposition to those of *Francis I.* and greatly contributed, at the Diet at *Frankfort*, to have that Prince advanced to the Empire, on the death of his grandfather *Maximilian*. *Charles* testified his gratitude, by nominating him to the rich See of *Valencia* in *Spain*; and procuring for him the Purple, for which he had an extreme fondness, of *Leo X.* He likewise permitted him to exercise in the *Low-Countries* the Legantine jurisdiction, which had been granted him by *Clement VII.* The Prelate had the satisfaction of seeing this series of felicity conferred to him by the good offices of his late grateful Guest. On his arrival at *Rome*, being informed that a kinsman of his Benefactor was desirous to be admitted into Cardinal *Alexander Farnese's* family, he recommended him to the Pope in such strong terms, that he was immediately placed in one of the first posts of a household, which was then one of the most numerous, noble, and polite in *Europe*; and where most ancient and modern languages were correctly spoken by the different persons who composed it. But the most valuable proof the LEGATE gave him of his attachment to his real interest, was by seconding the design he had of reforming his Diocese. The manners of the People and Clergy of *Liege* were remarkably corrupt; and, as it generally happens, their aversion to a Reform



was equal to the need they had of it. The great pains the Bishop took on this head, shews the sense he had of his obligations; and the LEGATE's concurrence with these salutary endeavours, is no less commendable. This spirit of zeal and goodness breathes through the six Letters which he wrote to him on this subject, and two to the Provost of *Tongre*. There is a remarkable accuracy in them all; a caution to inform the Prince of every thing it was proper he should know; a signification of gratitude for his past favours, and of a mind inured to application, which enabled him to enter into the most minute detail, and unite the care of an Agent to the dignity of an Equal. He procured for his Friend such an extension of the Legantine powers, as the unhappiness of those times required; and prevailed on him, though something against his inclinations, to acquiesce to the form in which this enlargement was granted, as most agreeable to his dignity, and to the nature of the commission. The three last of these letters, which are dated in the beginning of the following year, did not reach *Liege* till after the Prince's death, which happened in *February*, within half a year after the LEGATE's departure. *Erasmus* celebrates this great Prelate for his generous encouragement of letters, the stately buildings with which he adorned not only his own Principality, but several Cities in *Flanders*; and for shewing, by the use he made of wealth and honours, how deserving he was of both\*. Some years before his death, he erected a very sumptuous Memorial of himself, and placed it in the midst of the Quire of the Cathedral, where it still remains as fresh and unimpaired, as his merits are in the minds of his People. It consists of a Tomb, raised a considerable height from

\* Epist. *Erasm.* pag. 1025, edit. *Basil.*



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from the ground; on the flat of which the Prelate is represented, in a kneeling posture, as large as life, in his Cardinal's robes; and, at the opposite end, a Skeleton of Death, beckoning to him; with other smaller emblematical Figures. The whole is of cast brass, gilt at a vast expence, and the workmanship so exquisite, as to pass for one of the most magnificent monuments in *Europe*. Several of our curious Countrymen, who have been at the neighbouring *Spa*, must remember they have considered it in this light.

In this manner an end was put to a Negotiation, which had been entered on by the Pope, from a zeal of uniting *England* to the Catholic Church; and by the LEGATE, on the same disinterested and Christian views. The situation of the *English* affairs was such, as might promise success to the enterprise, especially to minds prepossessed with an ardent desire of it. The Emperor and *French* King had not only encouraged the undertaking, but engaged to second the LEGATE's endeavours, in a manner answerable to the importance of the business, and their own power to forward it: but as neither of them had any other design than to make the whole affair subservient to their private ends, they let *Henry* and all *Europe* know, how much his enmity was dreaded by her two most powerful Princes; and on that account, were so far from affording any aid to the cause, that they were a real and great detriment to it. This very possible Event the LEGATE himself had foreseen, as appears from the diffidence with which he entered on the undertaking, and the letter he wrote to *Contareni* from *Lyons*, when he was engaged in it. His judicious friend *Sadolet*, writing to him some time after, tells him, "he bore the fruitless success of  
2 the



the affair with greater evenness, as he had all along foreseen how it would end\*.” But the obedience he owed to the *Roman* Pontiff, the importunity of the Imperial and *French* Ministers, the assistance his Country stood in need of, and at that juncture seemed to call for, caused him to listen to the voice of duty, though at the risk of peril and disappointment.

Being arrived at *Trent*, he received a dispatch from the Court of *Rome*, which was designed to have reached him before he had left *Liege*, and by which the Pope left him at large either to pass the winter there, or return to *Rome*, as he judged most convenient. But he tells *Contareni*, that, all things considered, he looked on it as a fortunate circumstance, not to have received these orders till it was too late to deliberate on the alternative they proposed; and that he had complied with his Holiness's first commands, before the second had reached him. The letter to *Contareni* is written from *Bovolona*, a country seat of the Bishop of *Verona*, not far from *Hostilia*, a town in the Duchy of *Mantua*, and situated on the Banks of the *Po*. That Prelate having assisted him with his presence, his friendship, and every kind of good offices during the late troublesome business, bestowed on him, as they were about to take leave of each other, those marks of generosity, which, as our Countryman observes, he had a much better title to receive. “This, he adds, is an obligation to which I shall not be wanting, whenever Providence affords me the means of Liberality, which at present it seems to deny, in order to make room for that of others.”

He was visited here by the *Contareni* family; and saw them, he says, with the same complacence.

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\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. p. 71.



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cence he was accustomed to feel, on meeting, after a long absence, his own Relations : and, as he let slip no opportunity of deserving well of Literature and Virtue, he prevailed on *Flaminius*, who came from *Verona* to pay his respects to him, to enrich the *Latin* Poetry with a Translation of the *Psalms*, which, as we have elsewhere seen from *Tbuanus*, has been received with general approbation. From *Hostilia* he came by water to *Ferrara* ; and from thence went to *Ravenna*, that he might take *Loretto* in his way to *Rome*. On the road he heard of the death of *Cosmus Geri*, Bishop of *Fano*, whom long acquaintance, and similitude of manners, had rendered very dear to him ; and who was taken off in the prime of life, before his Friend had reached *Bologna*, where he hoped to meet him.

Being come to *Rome*, he gave the Pope a full account of his Embassy ; and though the event had not answered expectation, yet as he had discharged it with every commendation which can make a public character truly valuable, he was received with those testimonies of esteem, which should always accompany real, though unsuccessful merit : and the Legantine Commission being now at an end, he returned to the condition of a private CARDINAL.

SECT.



## S E C T. IV.

*Several interesting Anecdotes of his private Life.*

*His Embassy to Charles V. Inscribes an Apology to that Prince.*

**E**NGLAND still continued to be a scene of as many changes, as new passions rose in her Monarch's breast, or as former ones were not yet satiated. The plunder of near 400 Religious houses, whose yearly income amounted to 32,000 pounds, besides a great stock in goods and chattels, and which had been sufficient for the maintenance of 10,000 religious persons, and a much greater number of Retainers, had only increased the cravings of Henry's avarice: and the mere abjuration of the Papal Supremacy seemed but a slight revenge on that See, whose authority was yet revered by so large a part of his Subjects, and was still in his way with respect to further innovations, on which he was now wholly bent. In the preamble to the Act for dissolving the lesser Monasteries, the Parliament, on the report of the Visitors, had declared, that *in the greater Houses, thanks be to God, Religion was well kept up and observed* \*. But this was to little purpose with a Prince who had already fixed their fate, and whose passions ran so strong for a dissolution, that he could scarce endure the report of a fair character given to the Religious †. There were at this time about 700 Religious houses

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\* Anno 27 Hen. VIII.

† Giffard's, one of the Commissioners, letter to Cromwell, 19th June, 1537.



in *England* and *Wales*\*; eight and twenty of which gave their Abbots a Seat in the upper House of Parliament†. The yearly value of these places, exclusive of their moveable goods, which must have been beyond any estimate, was computed at 135,522 pounds. This income, however, great as it is, bore a much less proportion to the wealth of the nation than is generally imagined. The produce of the lands and possessions of *England*, some time before this period, had been rated at three millions; and thus what the Monasteries possessed did not exceed one twentieth part of the national revenue; a sum much below what a design to destroy them first gave out, and credulity has still retained. It could, one would imagine, be no easy matter to seize on so large a property, which was pretty equally divided over the whole Kingdom, and had been assured to the Possessors by every title on which Right can be founded, by a prescription of many centuries, and by the repeated Acts of above thirty Parliaments. As this subject is intimately connected with the subsequent part of this History, and takes in a great variety of curious intelligence, I shall present the Reader with such a summary view of it, as may prepare him for that part of the CARDINAL's conduct which was interested in it, and enable him to judge of these Institutions, not by the prejudices under which they generally labour in our Country, but from facts themselves.

The

\* *Camden* reckons 645. A list taken out of the Court of First-fruits and Tithes, makes them amount to 754; this difference may have risen from some colleges, and such like foundations, having been thrown into the number.

† *Fuller* says, twenty seven; *Lord Herbert*, twenty eight; and *Sir Ed. Coke*, twenty nine.



The Legislature having made the abovementioned declaration in favour of the Monasteries, no such depravity could be supposed to have pervaded these Retreats, within the short space of three years, which intervened between the dissolution of the greater and lesser houses, as could call for a total extirpation; those methods therefore were made use of, which, by endeavouring to conceal half the iniquity of the proceeding, made the whole more odious. It was judged expedient that the seizure should pass for a surrender and voluntary cession, on the part of those who were turned out of their possessions. In consequence of this plan, before the dissolution took place, on a vacancy of the Heads of any of the Houses, such persons were put into their place, as seemed most likely to be brought over to the measures of the Court. Large pensions for life were offered; and when motives of honour and conscience were alledged by the Incumbents for non-compliance, their behaviour was imputed to disobedience to the King's pleasure: and Spiritual Directors were prevailed on to persuade the Nuns that they were obliged to submit. When these methods failed, the refractory Abbots were on different pretences removed, and others more manageable put in their room. Menaces and rigour succeeded to the promises made to the Monks; and they were threatened with being accused of the most infamous disorders. The Commissioners took away the Conventual seal from their houses; and by this, and such like means, made the payment of their debts, and their very subsistence, in some measure impracticable. They could neither make Leases, nor dispose of their valuable effects. If any of the Religious gave out, that his surrender was involuntary, a mark of dislike was set on him, and he was denied that scanty



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IV.

In so great a number of houses, very few were taken by composition; the rest were starved into a surrender, or stormed by violence, or gained by those artifices which prevail on the passions of mankind †. The allowance granted to the Abbots and other Superiors, was proportioned to the readiness they had shewn in giving up their houses; and each private Religious had a small yearly pittance, frequently ill paid, as appears from the complaints of the Sufferers, and orders for the better observance of Statutes provided in such cases. The Nuns were allowed about four pounds a year; but no provision is found to have been made for such as were lately entered: they were turned out on the world, and left at large. By this means an incredible number of women of birth and fashion, being excluded from a settlement in the marriage state, could have no rank which they properly filled. Great interest was made in behalf of the sufferers from several parts of the Kingdom, especially from *Oxfordshire*, in favour of the Monasteries of the Women. Their lives were so remarkably blameless, as to seem to deserve an exemption from the general ruin. But neither personal merit, nor a regard due to the tenderness of the Sex, was any protection against avarice and lawless sway.

The Nation, during these transactions, was amused with rumours of an alliance between the Emperor and the *French* King to invade *England*, and that CARDINAL POLE was stirring up all *Europe* to a holy war on the same account; and the People were taught to believe, that this additional wealth would enable the King not only to repel

\* Collier's Ch. Hist. V. 2. B. 3. p. 136. Dugdale's Hist. of *Warwickshire*, p. 801.

† Fuller's Ch. Hist. N. B. 6. p. 307. and p. 346.



repel his Enemies, but to regain whatever his Predecessors had possessed in *France*. The Nobility were induced to acquiesce to this amazing revolution, by a promise of a share in the plunder, which *Henry*, as wasteful as rapacious, squandered almost as shamefully as he had acquired it. I shall instance this in two or three examples, though they have nothing in particular, which distinguishes them from others without number. A Grant was made of a Religious house to a Gentlewoman for a dish of puddings, which happened to please the King's palate; and several thousands a year, which had belonged to Monasteries, were gained away at Dice. A Ring of *Jesus*' bells, remarkable for their size and harmony, was lost at one throw to Sir *Miles Partridge* \*. Lord Chancellor *Audley* employed a special Agent to treat of a surrender with the Abbot of *Athely*; and, by a personal solicitation, prevailed on St *Osith*'s, in *Essex*, to come into the same measures. At the same time he intreated his Majesty to provide him with something more lucrative; and, as an argument to obtain the Abbey of *Walden*, in the same county, out of whose ruins the stately fabric, known by the name of *Audley-End*, was built, after having extenuated its value, he urged the great damages and infamy he had sustained in serving the Crown, for which this Grant would make him amends †.

A very rational doubt yet remained, how Religious Persons could alienate and transfer to the King a property, of which they themselves were only Tenants for life: and an Act of Parliament was framed, in order to remove all future scruples on this head, and settle *Rapine* and *Sacrilege*,

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\* *Stow's Survey of London*, in *Farringdon-ward*. Fuller, quoted by *Collier*, Ch. Hist. vol. 2. b. 3. page 166.

† *Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire*, page 801.



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as Lord *Herbert* terms them, on the King and his Heirs for ever. Both Houses were informed, that by this increase of the Royal Revenue, the King would be in a condition to live on his own, to defend his Kingdom, assist his Confederates, and reward those who deserved well of him; and that his Majesty, for ever in time to come, would take care these funds should not be turned to private use: That the Exchequer being thus enriched, 40,000 well-trained Soldiers might be kept on foot, and the Subject never more charged with Subsidies, Fifteenths, Loans, and common Aids; and that the honour of the Realm might not seem to suffer any diminution, by the suppression of the nine and twenty Abbots or Priors, who held Baronies of the Crown, in right of which they were Lords of Parliament, the number of Peers was to be augmented \*. On these pretexes, the greater Monasteries were all granted to the King, but no provision was made for the purposes to which the Grant was limited, or for any part of them. They were given to him and his Successors in general terms, to dispose of as they should think fit, to God's honour, and the Welfare of the Realm. It does not appear to have been debated in either House, whether they had a power to dispossess some hundred thousand persons of their dwelling and fortunes, whom, a few years before, they had declared to be good subjects; if such as live well come under that denomination. They seem to have as little considered, whether some things are not above the reach of Legislature; and if a Statute can unconsecrate a Church, and make Sacrilege no crime. All Religions, natural and revealed, true and false, have constantly supposed Consecrations

\* *Coke's Institutes*, part 4. fol. 44. and N. B. 3d. p. 165.



made to the Supreme Being, to be of a real and perpetual nature: the consequence of which is, that whatever is thus transferred, and as it were vested in him, cannot be taken back without his consent, signified by those he has appointed Interpreters of his will, and Delegates of his power. “Now, says Sir *Edward Coke*, observe the conclusion of this Tragedy: In that very Parliament, when the great and opulent Priory of *St John of Jerusalem* was given to the King, and which was the last Monastery seized on, he demanded a fresh Subsidy of the Clergy and Laity: he did the same again within two years; and again three years after; and since the Dissolution exacted great Loans, and, against Law, obtained them †.”

Nor is it this great Lawyer alone, who, having related these strange transactions, falls into the like reflections on them. I shall only set down the judgment which Protestant Writers have passed on this matter, as their religious principles cannot make them suspected of partiality to the cause of the Sufferers, though their candour has caused them to do it justice. I have related elsewhere the just and severe censure with which some of them have condemned the first Innovation of this kind, though made by the Papal authority, and for purposes which seemed to answer the chief ends of the original institution. Notwithstanding which, they have doubted of the lawfulness of the proceeding, have remarked on the disappointed views, under cover of which it was undertaken, and the unhappiness which attended all those who had any share in it. They have delivered themselves in still stronger terms on the suppression of the lesser Monasteries, and the disastrous effect it had on so many innocent persons,

† *Coke*, where above cited.



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persons, and on the Community in general. They have treated this great and final destruction with the same impartiality; and what might seem resentment, and the effect of party spirit, in a Writer of the Catholic communion, cannot but be well received from those who are aliens to her worship. If these fair Reasoners have thought so great a multiplicity of such institutions not necessary to Religion, and detrimental to the state, their disapprobation has gone no farther than to blame the excess of these plans of life, not to think it lawful to injure the persons or property of those who are engaged in them. Had the Monks been heard in their own cause, they could not have pleaded it with greater energy than these Advocates have done it for them, on the evidence of facts, and from a principle which will do honour to their Writings, whilst Equity and the lingering spirit of Religion has yet applause in *Britain*.

They consider the ease and conveniency which our Gentry and Nobility enjoyed of providing for younger children, who were disposed to retire from the world, with the opportunities of study and recollection, and an establishment for life suited to the rank their family held; the charge of which was by this means lessened, and the perpetuity of their estates better secured. The Abbays were public Schools for education, each of them having one or more persons set apart to instruct the Youth of the neighbourhood, without any expence to the Parent; and young persons of the other Sex had the same advantage from the Convents of Women, where they were taught Needle-work, to read their Mother-Tongue, and had sometimes a tincture of the *Latin*. Our best, and almost our only Historians, were persons of this profession. Retirement afforded them lei-  
sure



sure for such undertakings; and the Seat which the mitred Abbots held in Parliament, brought them acquainted with public life, and the affairs of the Nation. Several of the Episcopal Sees were likewise filled by that Order of men, and many of them had place in the Convocation. They not only promoted a general literary improvement, as far as it was understood or attainable in their times; but were industrious, at different periods of our national calamities, to restore learning, and rescue their Country from the ignorance into which those disasters had caused it to fall; and the Monks preserved what these had spared. Each of the greater Monasteries had a peculiar residence in the Universities; and whereas there were in those times near 300 Halls and private Schools in *Oxford*, besides the Colleges, there were not above eight remaining towards the middle of the last Century but one \*. These, before the dissolution, were regularly supplied with Students from their respective Houses; but that and other changes taking place, this supply failed; the Nobility and Gentry called home their Youth, and the whole genius of the Nation seemed turned from letters to pursuits of a very different kind. The general discouragement which the Ecclesiastical state lay under, made most people apply their time and industry to what they thought would be more to their advantage †.

I am not ignorant that true genius, and that discernment which equally distinguishes the Writer and the Reader, had a very short date, even in *Italy*, where it was first revived, and attained its greatest perfection; the causes of which this History

\* Nam licet 300 olim et adhuc plures, et fama constanti et registorum fide ductus extitisse crediderim, ad octo jam recidisse deprehendo. *Wood, Antiq. Oxon.* pag. 265.

† *Collier's Ch. Hist.* V. 2. N. B. 3. page 166.



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History is not interested to inquire into. The same may be observed with respect to our own Country, where the like advantages seem to have disappeared almost as soon as they were enjoyed, and not to have revisited us till after a long period. It must however be acknowledged, that during the interval we meet with some as great names as ever graced the annals of Literature. This obstruction to improvement, after as fair a prospect as ever opened on a Nation, must, I think, in some measure, be attributed to the total suppression of that Order of men, from which Letters had hitherto chiefly drawn their support and encouragement; and from other changes, which took their rise in this.--- The whole application of *Edward's* short reign, was to finish the Religious destruction which his Father began; and that of his Sister *Mary's*, to raise up again those ruins.--- The quaint conceits which prevailed under *Elizabeth*, are now the laughter of every *Westminster* school-boy; and the devices and merrie disports, by which the pageantry of her reception was celebrated at *Kenilworth* Castle, in which the courtly humour and wit then in vogue were displayed, are on a level with the rebuses of a *Dutch* Schoolmaster, and the rareshows of *May-fair*. Even *Spencer's Fairie Queen* is no less an instance of the bad taste of those times, than of the Author's genius. The Reader is vexed and disappointed to find a beautiful imagination, smooth numbers, and great ease of expression, employed on the affectations and fopperies of Knight-errantry, and on an Allegory that never ends. The difference of manners in that and the present age, neither accounts for the cause of this degeneracy, nor sets the effect in a more favourable light. It means no more than that we have a discernment and elegance of mind, which they wanted.



wanted. Manners have changed more since the ages of *Homer* and *Terence*, and yet their works are still agreeable and interesting, in proportion to the Reader's judgment and taste; and will continue to be so in every age. ----- Though a *Bacon* and a *Raleigh* mark the Epoch of *James I.* the pedant reign of that Monarch was not likely to produce a large crop of excellence, of which his Majesty would be thought the standard. --- Learning and the polite Arts flourished under his Son; and a relish of them began to be national: and all the madness of the Civil Wars did not hinder One great genius from forming himself to a production which has done as much honour to *England*, as can be derived from Poetry. But the tranquillity of this Prince was of a short date: and the Fanaticism of the *Commonwealth* despised human knowledge, and was as declared a foe to taste and science, as to order and law. ---- It was not till *Charles* the second's days that the general sense of the Nation awakened to a discernment in the various productions of genius, and returned to the taste and elegance of *Sir Thomas More*, and the cotemporaries of his era.

The Monks were likewise the Guardians of those Sources from whence Knowledge is derived, and most of the Records of the age were lodged with them. Printing was then but a late invention; and they had transcribed and preserved the chief Manuscripts, both as to number and value. But, at the dissolution, a very different fate happened to these Repositories of learning; for instead of being removed to public Libraries, they fell, with the Monasteries, to the lot of persons who understood nothing of their value, but the price they would yield; and were often thrown into the Grant as things of small consideration. The avarice of the late Intruders was so mean, and



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and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the books happened to have costly covers, they tore them off, and threw away the works, or turned them to the vilest purposes. A Citizen, who had purchased two magnificent Libraries for forty shillings, made no other use of them, during ten years, says a Protestant Bishop\*, who was acquainted with him, but as waste paper.

Besides the advantages of Literature, which the Nation received from the Monastic profession, there were others still more diffused, and more universally felt. The reserved Rents of these Landlords were low, and their Fines easy. A part of the Produce of the Farm, without money, often discharged the Tenant. A boundless Hospitality was kept up to all sorts of persons; and public entertainment given to our Nobility and Gentry, when they travelled. An estimate may be made of their Alms from the following instance. While the Religious Houses subsisted, there were no provisions made by Parliament to relieve the Poor, no Assessment on the Parish for that purpose: but, at present, this charge on the Kingdom amounts, by a low computation, to above 800,000*l.* a year. Now if we compare the annual Income of 135,522 pounds, 18 shillings, and 10 pence, which was the appraisement of the Monastic lands, with the Poors Tax, we shall see what the Nation has gained by the dissolution. Nor does the different valuation of money in those and the present times make any difference in the nature of the burden, as the possessors of the Abbey lands would find, if this rent-charge, which is drawn on the whole nation, was levied on them only. To these general benefits we must add those which particular parts of the Community found

\* *John Bale's*, Bishop of *Ossory*, declaration on *Leland's* Journal, anno 1549.



found in these Institutions. The Abbeyes which held by Knights service furnished a certain number of Soldiers, proportioned to their Estates, and equipped them for the field at their own charge. They paid a sum of money to defray the expence of Knighthood, when that distinction was conferred on their Founder's Heir; and contributed to a fortune for the marriage of their Lord's eldest Daughter. The Founders likewise had the privilege of *Corrody*, or of quartering a certain number of poor Servants on the Abbeyes; and thus the aged and worn out with labour, who were no longer in a condition to support themselves, were not thrown up to starving, or parish collections; but had a comfortable retreat, where they were maintained during life, without the hardships or marks of indigence §. On these considerations one of our Historians has made no difficulty to assert, that it would be but an act of common justice, to give the generality of Protestants a more favourable opinion of Monasteries \*: and the complicated and national guilt which was incurred by dissolving them, has induced others to look on the calamities which trod on the heels of this iniquity, as so many indications of a provoked and avenging God †. Of a hundred families of note and fortune, which were in the County of *Norfolk* before the dissolution, all that had enriched themselves by these spoils of sacrilege, were either extinct, or much impaired, in Sir *Henry Spelman's* time, amongst which that great and excellent man acknowledges his own ‡. The day which

§ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* b. 6. p. 335. *Collier's Ch. Hist.* vol. 2. b. 3. p. 165, and 166.

\* *Tanner's Preface to his Notitia Monastica.*

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* b. 6. pag. 371.

‡ *Spelman, Præf. de non temer. Eccles.*



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which gave commencement to this crime was thought ominous; for on the meeting of the *long Parliament*, from which the Church of *England* dates her misfortunes, several persons intreated Archbishop *Laud* to move the King to have it adjourned for a short time, it being the same day on which the Legislature, in *Henry* the Eighth's reign, began the dissolution of Religious houses\*.

The anger of Heaven exercised on the Nobility a still severer vengeance than in permitting their possessions to moulder away, and their families to fall; more of that class having been attainted, and died by the hand of the executioner, within twenty years after the dissolution, than during the preceding five hundred; which was the space between the Conquest and that period; and the Commons, doubtless, in their turn, have drunk deep of this Cup of deadly wine. “*England* sat weeping, says *Camden*, to see her wealth exhausted, her coin embased, and her Abbeyes demolished, which were the Monuments of ancient piety †.”

The King was not satisfied with breaking up the Communities, and seizing their possessions; he would likewise destroy their habitations. The CARDINAL, speaking of this devastation, observes, that whilst these stood, they reminded Mankind there had been a time when they belonged to other Owners; and *Henry* was desirous to efface all such Remembrancers §. The buildings, for the most part, were very noble; and, as far as the forecast of their religious Founders could reach, designed to resist the injuries of time, and to be perpetual Sanctuaries of divine worship; and as it was no easy work to demolish such structures

\* *Echard's History of England*, vol. 2. p. 194.

† Introduction to the Annals of *Q. Elizabeth*, p. 5.

§ *Apol. ad Carolum V. Cæs.*



tures by the usual methods of pulling down, he caused them to be blown up. By this means, says the CARDINAL, many noble Edifices, and almost the only ones in *England* which deserved that name, the Ornaments of the Kingdom, which hostile invasion and civil wars had spared, and which had stood the test of Ages, were, in a few hours, reduced to heaps of ruin." I shall only be particular in two instances, which the noble Relator has set forth in all the eloquence that ever animated a *Grecian* or *Roman* writer, on subjects with which they were most affected \*.

There was at *Canterbury* a celebrated Monastery of *St Austin*, by whose preaching, labours, and miracles, our *Saxon* Ancestors had received the benefit of Christianity; and who, on that account, had been revered, during seven centuries, by the whole Nation, as their Apostle. His remains were preserved in a magnificent shrine, and had been the object of public veneration through that long tract of time; and there was a stately Church adjoining to the Monastery, in which

\* *Apol. ad Carolum V. Cæs. § 23. & seq.* The following lines of *Sir John Denham*, who distinguished himself in the Royal cause of *King Charles I.* and was one of the Parents of *English Poetry*, describe a disapprobation of these proceedings in as strong and elegant a strain, as would have done honour to *Mr Pope*, had he been pleased to do the same justice to the cause.

Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand

What barbarous Invader sack'd the land!

But when he hears, no Goth, no Turk did bring

This desolation, but a Christian King;

When nothing but the name of zeal appears,

'Twixt our best Actions, and the worst of theirs,

What does he think our Sacrilege would spare,

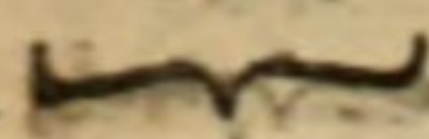
When such th' effects of our Devotion are?

*Cooper's Hill.*



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which divine service was performed with great magnificence, and daily supplications offered up for the King's and the Nation's welfare. The Shrine, by *Henry's* orders, was profaned, pillaged, and destroyed; and the Church and Monastery entirely demolished. The inclosure was laid waste, and appropriated to wild beasts; and a palace raised out of the ruins, for something still more savage, *Himself*.

In the Cathedral of the same City was a Tomb sacred to the memory of *St Thomas*, Archbishop of that See, and adorned with every effort of art and magnificence, by which our own and foreign Countries could express their veneration for him, whose remains it inclosed. The King, who by a rash expression gave occasion to his murder, had testified the most unfeigned grief, and atoned for it by a very exemplary penitence: and the Perpetrators of the fact lived and died the Outcast of Mankind. He had been acknowledged by the whole Christian world, for the space of three hundred years, as a great Servant of God, who laid down his life in his cause, and as a principal Patron of the *English* nation. His tomb had been visited from the remotest parts of *Europe*, by persons of the first distinction, and, amongst others, by *Lewis VII. of France*; who enriched it with a donary worthy so great a Monarch, and suited to the importance of the occasion, which was the recovery of the Dauphin's health. The accounts of his life, and the manner of his death, which are come down to us from several cotemporary Writers, are so circumstantial, and related with such ingenuous plainness, that they would gain universal credit and approbation, even in these days of refinement, did not the cause prejudice the Reader against the constancy shewn in suffer-



suffering for it \*. On the strength of these reasons, *the greatest Scholar, Orator, and Divine of his age* †, has made the following remark; “That if the cause, in which this Prelate died, has appeared equivocal to the low views of worldly prudence, it has pleased the Wisdom of the Almighty to declare in its favour by Wonders, which were so frequent, and so well attested by the unanimous agreement of all Authors of those times, that they cannot be contested, without calling in question whatever History has transmitted to us §.”

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A veneration so well founded, of such antiquity, and so universally received, did not hinder the Saint's bones from being burnt, and the ashes scattered in the wind: and, as this happened about the same time that the Island of *Rhodes* was taken by the *Turks*, it gave the CARDINAL an opportunity of contrasting their behaviour, on this occasion, with *Henry's* rapine and impiety. These conquerors, though under all the prejudices of Mahometan superstition, had not removed any of the monuments of the Saints, which they found in the Island, nor offered the least insult to them: they had even allowed the Christians to take away several of these venerable remains, and had behaved, through the whole affair, with the greatest decency and humanity ||.

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The CARDINAL has considered this Prelate as a *Saint* and a *Martyr*: but the temper of these times seems to require that something should be said of him as a MEMBER of the COMMUNITY,

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and

\* *John of Salisbury*, Bishop of *Charters*, who attended *St Thomas* in his exile, and was present at his death. *William Fitz Stephens*, who lived with him, and saw him expire; and many others, especially *Peter of Blois*, in his 75th letter.

† Lord *Bolingbroke* says this of *Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*.

§ Hist. des Variat. des Eglis. Prot. t. i. liv. 7. § 114.

|| Epist. R. Poli, pars i. p. 104.



## THE HISTORY OF THE

and one, whose high office of Primate, obliged him to be the Guardian of her liberties; the qualities which fill up the measure of this character, being, in the eye of an *Englishman*, what makes a Hero, and, which is a still more sacred name, a Patriot. Of sixteen Articles, to which *Henry II.* required the Archbishop to subscribe, six were manifestly destructive of those immunities, which then made no less a part of our Constitution, than any others contained in the great Charter; and have, moreover, the distinction to be set down there at the head of the rest\*. He refused to betray this trust, and shewed a fortitude, which, was the chief Magistrate of our Metropolis to exert in defence of its liberty, and die in the cause, the whole nation would think his memory deserving of the greatest honours. The cause, however, of the Magistrate, in this supposition, would be as inferior to that in which the Martyr suffered, as what concerns a single corporation, is to the Rights of a great national Church. If the plunder therefore of his costly monument, of which the gold, jewels, and oriental pearls alone filled two Chests, which six or eight men could do no more than convey out of the Church†, had not been a sufficient lure to *Henry's* avarice, the quality of Asserter of the rights of the Subject must have made him obnoxious to the impotent rage of a lawless Tyrant. He observed, therefore, a peculiar solemnity in wreaking his vengeance on the memory of him, whose person was removed beyond the reach of his impious attempts. He published a Proclamation, in which he declared, that having maturely weighed the merits of the cause, he had discovered that *Thomas Becket* had been killed in endeavouring to obstruct the execution

\* *Stapleton de verâ causâ Martyris S. Thom. Cantuar.* p. 36.

† *Stowe, Annals of Henry VIII.*



cution of the King's orders, and was therefore not a Martyr, but a Rebel \*. But the opposition and rebellion with which the Prelate is charged, consisted, as we have seen, in refusing to give up those Rights, of which he was the principal Guardian; and standing in the breach against an arbitrary power, which would have overturned them. Few persons, I presume, will be so lost to all justness of sentiment, as to make here any distinction between the legal claims of the Clergy and those of the Laity; since he, who lays down his life in defence of either, equally asserts the common cause, and presents his breast to that stroke which was aimed at his Country. This truth will receive an additional light, when we reflect, that the immunities in question were granted to the Clergy with a more immediate view to the benefit of the whole People, than of that very Order on which the privileges are conferred. *Montesquieu* has stated the case with equal candor and judgment; and as his authority, when it is in behalf of Ecclesiastics, will be admitted, I shall make use of it on this occasion. "I am not prejudiced, says he, in favour of Churchmen, but I could wish their jurisdiction was well ascertained. It is now quite out of the question to debate, if there was reason for enacting it; but we are to look on it as established, as making a part of the Laws of our Country, and as having a constant relation to them; that the terms of agreement are to be reciprocal between two powers, which are acknowledged to be independent of each other; and that a good Citizen will be indifferent whether he

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\* The Proclamation is set down at length by *T. Stapleton*, D. D. in his account of the Archbishop, with a Comment on each part of it. It is written in *Latin*, of which language he was a great Master, and printed in the same volume with his *Life of Sir Thomas More*.



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maintains the lawful power of his Prince; on those bounds by which it is circumscribed. The Power of the Clergy, continues this Writer, is no less dangerous to a Commonwealth than convenient in a Monarchy, especially to those that lean to despotism. What would have become of *Spain* and *Portugal*, since their laws have been no longer in vigour, without this power, which is the only check to arbitrary sway? This barrier is always useful, when others are wanting; for as despotism causes the greatest ills to human nature, an Evil itself, which controls it, becomes a blessing †." This reflection seems peculiarly adapted to the reign in which *St Thomas* lived: the King was of a violent and assuming spirit, as the whole tenor of his life shews: and the *English* had every thing to apprehend from the effects of it. This temper hurried him into frequent frenzies, of which History has recorded strange instances; and the whole Nation, at his accession, was in the utmost consternation, lest he should avail himself of the title of Conquest, and set aside the Rights of the People, in imitation of the Founder of the *Norman* line. I make no question, but the noble and ingenious Author, from whom the Public has long expected the Life of this Prince, will do justice to a subject, which the nature of this work rather allows the Writer here to hint at, than to treat of.

Whilst this devastation was going on in *England*, and filling the rest of *Europe* with amazement, the CARDINAL, after his return to *Rome*, and the fruitless attempt, which has been related, to make up a breach which *Henry* every day widened, was taken up in the private offices of friendship. His first care was to shew his gratitude to the Bishop and Prince of *Liege* in the manner

† *Esprit des Loix*, tom. 1. liv. 2. ch. 4.



ner already spoken of. He was at the same time very serviceable to *Albert Pighius*; and several of his letters to him bear witness to his unwearied industry in the cause of Virtue and Truth, and the encouragement and assistance he gave to those who were able and willing to promote it. The person I am speaking of, who had a great share in his good-will, was born at *Campan* in *Over-ÿssel*, a province in *Holland*. His father, who was a Gentleman, took great care to give him a learned and virtuous education, which enabled him to become one of the most zealous and successful opposers of the novelties which were introduced in the 16th Century. He had sent the CARDINAL a copy of two Works; in one of which he refutes *Luther's* calumnies against the approaching general Council; and in another defends the cause of the Church against what had been published on that subject in *England*. The CARDINAL was highly pleased with both; and encouraged the Author to finish a still more important undertaking, in which he asserted the *Hierarchy* \*. Having soon after received this performance, he let him know, he would take the first opportunity of shewing it to the Pope, though he had already given his Holiness an account of the Work, and informed him of the merit and abilities of the Author. He every where professes the greatest regard for him, both as a good man and a useful Writer; and though the commendations of his *Liegeois* friends confirmed the advantageous opinion he had of him, that he stood in need of no foreign motive to love and value a man, whose virtue and erudition spoke so effectually in his own favour. *Sadolet* was no less taken with the excellence of the latter performance; the various and extensive knowledge contained in it, and the

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\* Assertio Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ.



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propriety with which it was suited to the unhappiness of those times \*. *Pighius* had complained to his Patron, that others, who were less deserving than he thought himself, had been highly gratified, whilst he was overlooked; on which the CARDINAL exhorts him to persevere in the laudable career he had entered on, and to shew his sincerity in the cause of Truth, by the disinterestedness with which he maintained it. At the same time he assures him, that he and several other powerful friends would omit nothing to remove the cause of this complaint: and soon after the Pope, in consideration of the services he had done the common cause, presented him with two thousand ducats, and nominated him Provost of *St John's Church in Utrecht*. One of the CARDINAL's letters to him concludes with this useful advice: "As to what concerns the person, on whose account you was in danger of suffering in your reputation; I am no farther interested, than that you are now at ease. His cause, which, in your letters, you take so much to heart, does not concern me; and therefore I am not desirous to be informed of it, especially as it cannot at present be defended without censuring that Authority which has condemned it. If you ask my opinion with respect to the part you are to act in it, it is to give yourself no further concern, as no share in the blame has fallen on you †." The reputation of this Author has made some of the Reformers desirous he should seem favourable to their party, though his principal Works are written against them ‡. Their claim is grounded on a few expressions, in which he delivers himself

\* *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 110.

† *Ibid* pag. 110. et seq.

‡ *Pontificiorum Achilles Pighius adversus Lutherum*, qui totus noster est in causâ Justificationis.



self on some tenets in a different manner from several Catholic Writers; for which reason *Tapper*, who must always be named with honour, has reflected on him with great severity.

*Camillus Ursini* at this time was at the head of the *Venetian* troops in *Dalmatia*; and, by a rare and happy union, joined in his person the double character of a great General and a perfect Christian. The esteem he had for the *English* CARDINAL, caused him to lay his mind open to him on several affairs, in which he conceived the welfare of *Europe* to be interested. The chief were the *Ottoman* war, which threatened the state of *Venice*, and the rest of *Italy*; and the conclusion of a peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*. The high reputation he had acquired by his military Exploits, his skill in the art of Government, and the rank he held in the Republic, allowed him a freedom in writing to the greatest Potentates, at which nothing less than his merit could have hindered them from taking offence. The CARDINAL, in his answer, lets him know, that according to his desire, he had communicated the subject of his Dispatches to the Cardinals *Contareni* and *Caraffa*, before he had mentioned them to the Pope: and so accurate was he, and so little sparing of his trouble, he had caused copies of them to be delivered to each of them, that they might at leisure consider the contents. He then informs him, that the Pope having appointed them a day to make their report of these matters, they had divided the subject between them, and agreed on the part of which each was to speak, that so they might avoid confusion, and omit nothing material in such a multiplicity of Articles, which the Letter, which he calls a Treatise, contained. Lastly, he assures him, that his Holiness had heard them with great attention, and



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and signified his affection for the Writer, and his sense of the importance of the Dispatch, and of the judgment with which it was drawn up. The General having likewise sent the CARDINAL a copy of a Letter he had written to the King of *France*, he testifies his approbation of it, but insinuates to him the following caution: "That, in writing to Princes, he should rather have a regard to their dispositions, than to his own: That they were entirely taken up with views and designs altogether worldly, whilst his mind was fixed on objects of as different a nature as Heaven and Earth. All I can wish, says he, is, that he may relish such pure and sublime maxims, and act according to them: but I fear they will have no more influence on his mind, than the Sunbeams on the Moon, when the earth interposes itself between her orb and the source of light. He observes, that this case is common to all Princes; and though the title of *most Christian* ought to make the *French* King an exception from this too general Rule, yet he would find the same character in them all, by whatever appellations they were distinguished: That the jealousies, the animosities and wars, which then disturbed the Peace of the World, were but too melancholy a proof of this observation. From all which the CARDINAL inferred, that could he let himself down to offer them nothing more luminous than such vitiated Organs could support, he would gladly be the bearer of the letters which conveyed it to them; as he should shortly accompany the Pope to *Nice*, where he was to meet the Emperor and the King of *France*, in order to bring them to a Peace." This extraordinary personage, having served his Country with great glory, chose, in the decline of life, an honourable retreat at *Ferrara*; that, after having lived for



for others, he might live for himself: but, by CARDINAL POLE's advice, he was called from this retirement, and made Governor General of the Church. He filled this post with a dignity equal to the talents he had shewn in more active employments, and afforded a very unusual sight of a Layman and a Soldier, who was the directing mind of the Councils of the Pope's Court †.

A letter which the CARDINAL wrote, soon after his coming to *Rome*, has something too particular to be here omitted, both as it has a connection with the concerns of the neighbouring Kingdom of *Scotland*, and seems almost prophetic of the disastrous end, which, eight years after, befel him to whom it was written. *David Beton* had succeeded his uncle the Chancellor in the Archbishoprick of *Saint Andrews*; and, at *James the Fifth's* recommendation, had been lately created Cardinal. He was son of Lord *Barflower*, of the ancient family of *Beton*; and, having finished his studies in *France*, was sent, in the year 1534, Ambassador to that Court, where he gave so much satisfaction, that *Francis I.* conferred on him the Bishoprick of *Mirepoix*. Being returned to his country, and raised to the highest Church preferment in it, he shewed great skill in public affairs, and the difficult task of a tumultuous and unsettled Regency, after the death of *James*. The troubles which the alterations in Religion had then brought into *Scotland*, caused him to have *Wisheart*, who was the chief kindler of them, condemned to the flames; and he beheld the execution from his palace. This was a severity which those times could not bear, and with which

Kal. Jan.  
1538.

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 122, et seq.

His Life was published at *Venice*, in 1566, and dedicated to three Noblemen of the *Ursini* family.



it were to be wished the lenity of the Gospel-Spirit had caused all times and all countries to have been for ever unacquainted. A few days after, a troop of assassins seized on him in his palace; and one *Norman Lesly*, a calm and deliberate villain, who headed them, turning to his comrades, told them, the deed they were about, being the Work of the Lord, ought not to be performed in a hurry. He then pointed his sword at the Prelate's breast, and exhorted him to repentance for *Wisheart's* murder; but not allowing him leisure to benefit from his Sermon, he thrust him through the body. In the letter I have mentioned, which was on *Beton's* being raised to the Purple, CARDINAL POLE "had reminded him of the obligation which all, who are adopted into the sacred College lie under, of being prepared to lay down their life in the cause of Truth: That the very crimson colour of their dress, should other remembrancers be wanting, was sufficient to awaken in them a sense of this engagement: and if the Prophet's question, *Why is thy garment red?* was put to them; the answer should be ready from their actions rather than their words: and that he made no doubt but this would be the case of the new Cardinal \*." One of the chief duties of a Pastor is the care to preserve his Flock from Error and Seduction; and whoever falls a sacrifice to a Christian discharge of this duty of our Religion, as the great Author of it assures us, *lays down his life in defence of his Sheep*. It is this kind of vigour and resolution to which the CARDINAL encourages this Prelate: for, as to all sanguinary and compulsive measures, either in establishing the Catholic cause, or redressing the in-

\* *Keith's History of the Reformation of Scotland. Hume's 1st vol. of the Tudors, page 298. Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2, pag. 117.*



injuries done to it, his whole conduct both in the government of *Viterbo*, and afterwards, when he was LEGATE in *England*, shews his temper and principles to have been utterly averse to them.

But now a conspicuous Scene was opening in *Italy*, at which the *English* CARDINAL's presence was required, and which gave occasion to a second trial of that patient courage, of which he had given proof in his late Embassy. *Paul III.* had prevailed on the Emperor and King of *France* to come to *Nice*, where he was to meet them. The motives of this Interview have been as variously related, as the Writers who have treated of it were engaged in different interests, and had different designs in representing it. The cotemporary Authors, who assisted at it, take it for granted, that the Pope's views were to appease the feuds which had long subsisted between these Princes, and unite them in measures which might put a stop to the changes in Religion, which now more than ever threatened *Europe*; and to procure their concurrence in the plan of a General Council, which seemed the only remedy to these evils; and to the happy issue of which their authority must greatly contribute \*. Others, who refine on the views of Princes, or interpret them by their own malignity, have described this meeting as contrived by the Pope to get the Duchy of *Milan* into his own family †. But this imputation is so groundless, that there are the strongest reasons for asserting, that, far from any such mercenary prospect, he left nothing untried in order to gain on the Emperor to make this Principality over to the Duke of *Orleans* ‡.

The

\* *Sadolet, Camillus Ursini, Contareni, Cardinal Pole, and even Aretini himself.*

† *Seckendorf, Fra. Paolo, Courayer.*

‡ *Pallav. l. 4. cap. 6.*



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The Pope would have CARDINAL POLE assist at this negotiation, that he might have the advantage of his counsels, and his Court be honoured by a person, whose reputation was very high through all *Europe*: and he knew the satisfaction the Emperor would receive from the sight of a stranger, who had shewn such disinterestedness and intrepidity where the honour of his family was concerned. “I remember, says the Writer of his Life, *Becatelli*, when the Emperor paid the first visit to the Pope, at a Monastery not far from *Nice*, and the sacred College came out to receive him, he ordered *Granville*, his Minister, to inquire for CARDINAL POLE, as he greatly desired to see him, that he might signify how sensible he was of the obligations he had for his behaviour in the cause of his aunt, *Queen Catharine*. I accompanied the CARDINAL, says the same Historian, when he went to wait on the Emperor at *Villa Franca*, and saw the distinction with which he received him. There were several who came to pay their Court to his Majesty, whom he dismissed on the CARDINAL’s arrival, treated him with the cordiality of a Brother, and discoursed with him a considerable time.” At this meeting, the Emperor and King of *France* had assured the Pope, they would have no further communication with *Henry*; and would employ all their authority to assist a once flourishing Kingdom, which had now no resource but from the good offices of her Allies.

It was now three years since the sentence of Excommunication had been drawn up by *Paul III.* against the King of *England*, for his marriage with *Anne Bullen*, and for assuming the Supremacy: but it had been still suppressed on account of his former merits; from some prospect of his repentance; and by the interposition of *Francis I.* who during



during the greater part of this interval had interested himself very warmly in the cause of an Ally, of whose haughty carriage he now began to be weary, and of whose assistance, being reconciled to the Emperor, he stood less in need. His late enormities were of so deep a dye, that the holy See thought it necessary to declare herself, by the most solemn and exemplary proceedings, against a guilty and impious Prince. A second Sentence was accordingly drawn up, by which the penalties of the former were renewed; and the fresh crimes enumerated, which at length had caused it to be put in execution. The Excommunication was published with the formalities, and in the stile usual on such occasions. By this the excommunicated person is cut off from the communion of the Faithful; deprived of the participation of the Sacraments; forbid to enter the Church, and join in the exercise of any act of religious Worship: and all Christians are likewise prohibited all commerce and communion with him in any of these articles.

Had the sentence extended no further, and not proceeded to deprive *Henry* of his Kingdom, to absolve his subjects from their Allegiance, and exhort every body to rise up against him as the declared enemy of God and Man, its justice and validity could never have been called in question; the King having drawn on himself the utmost rigour which Religion, whose rights his excesses had violated, could inflict. Though a Sovereign, he was liable to these penalties no less than the meanest of his subjects; the power of inflicting them having been conferred on the Apostles and their Successors, without any exception of persons. And it is the triumph of Christianity, that one of the greatest Emperors the World ever obeyed, submitted to the censure of the Church,

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with a docility which would have charmed even in a private character. Nay, it seems more than barely probable, that whilst *Rome* was yet Pagan, one of her Sovereigns gave the like instance of the Gospel-Spirit, which in a Novice in the School of Christ, as *Philip* was, is still more admirable than the example of *Theodosius*; if what is no more than a compliance with duty, by whoever performed, has any claim to be qualified with that epithet \*. Discretion indeed will very rarely allow of this rigour with respect to Crowned Heads; and, the case supposed, not only the Pope, but the Diocesan Bishop has the power to exert it. But then the consequences are purely spiritual, and the subjects of the excommunicated Prince under the same obligations they before were, as to every instance of Loyalty, which is not contrary to the divine Law. This is the plan which the Author of our holy Religion has lain down, whose whole conduct manifested that he came to reform the vices and errors of mankind, but left the government of human affairs to human institutions. When on earth, he refused to interfere with the settling a private inheritance, though at the request of one of the parties, and left it to the legal proceedings in such cases: He even rejected the proposal with a kind of indignation, as foreign to the purpose he came on. Nor do we any where find, that he declared his Vicegerents in the *Hierarchy* to be Umpires and Disposers of States and Kingdoms; or that dominion was founded on grace; or that a violation of his law caused the offender to forfeit what he held by a civil title, and the public and acknowledged right of mankind. His Apostles, and

\* See *Tillemont's Histoire des Empereurs*, tome 3. Notes sur *Philippe*, et tome 5. *Histoire de Theodose*, Article 62.



and those who came after them, followed the same scheme; and every where inforce the obedience due to Princes, good or bad, Christians or Infidels.

Gregory VII. was the first who asserted a Jurisdiction, unknown to the first thousand years of the Christian era, and undertook to depose a Sovereign; and the Popes who have copied his example, have supposed its lawfulness, and begun by facts instead of proofs. The maxims on which this claim seemed to be founded, were indeed of an earlier date than this Pontiff; and mankind in his age were so prepossessed in their favour, that those who took the deposed Emperor's part, had nothing to alledge in his behalf, but that a Crowned Head could not be excommunicated. But the Pope had no difficulty to demonstrate, that the power of loosing and binding was granted to the Church without any such restriction. By this new System the Pope became a kind of universal Monarch, superior to all others, even with respect to extent of temporal power; for by acknowledging in him a right, however explained, to establish and depose Princes, we must fairly own him to be the only true Monarch; and that the Church, for so many centuries, had either overlooked or been ignorant of so important a claim. These notions rose from a want of knowledge, or an unwillingness to distinguish between the nature of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; and a supposition that a power of a higher order necessarily took in whatever was inferior, though altogether disparate. Thus, because the power of Excommunicating Princes was superior to any earthly claim, they concluded that He, who by way of excellence is invested with it, had likewise that of Deposing them. The Schoolmen brought in their auxiliaries, which were suited to

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such a conflict; and, by drawing practical inferences from Allegory, and employing the form of Syllogism, where matter of fact failed them, they imposed on minds more accustomed to subtilities, than to real learning and the maxims of all antiquity.

But this opinion is so far from making a part of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that no Professor would be allowed to maintain it in those countries which are most attached to her communion; and no book suffered to appear in public, where it was asserted. The Pope who first advanced it was a person of a high spirit, and had been brought up in the severe discipline of a Monastic life. He was desirous to rescue the Church from those disorders under which she laboured, when he was raised to her government; and to introduce the virtues, of which his own life was a very eminent pattern. This design, and the efforts he made towards its accomplishment, were worthy the chief Bishop of the Church. But he confounded Spiritual Jurisdiction with Temporal; and attempted on the rights of the latter, which are derived from human institutions, and depend on the laws and constitutions of the respective states in which they have force: and his conduct exhibited to *Europe* a dreadful scene of bloodshed, which did but increase the evils he intended to remove, and involved himself in endless difficulties. He had the mortification to see the overthrow, with which he threatened the Emperor, fall on *Rodolphus*; and Victory, which he had with almost a prophetic assurance chained down to the Camp of his Ally, take her flight to that of his Enemy. The darkness of that undistinguishing age, and the uprightness of his own intentions, can hardly excuse his behaviour in this respect: much less can it



it be cited as a rule by which others are to act, or as a sanction for such proceedings.

The peace lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, gave the CARDINAL such satisfaction, that, writing to *Contareni*, he says, he could express his joy by nothing so well as the behaviour of a Painter of *Verona*, who, on hearing the news, after every touch of his pencil, took his hand from the canvas, to break out into exclamations at so unexpected, and, at the same time, so wished-for an event. When the conference, at which it was concluded, was ended, he spent some time at *Trevilla*. It was a country-seat of his friend *Priuli*, very elegant, and worthy its master \*; and at so convenient a distance from *Contareni*, that they often saw each other, and passed a great part of their time together. His companions in this delightful solitude, besides those of his own family, were *Bonamico* and *Gabrieli*, two celebrated Professors of the University of *Padua*; *Superantius*, *Gualterucci*, and *Rullus*; who are all mentioned with distinction in the letters of *Bembo* and *Sadolet*. The employment of their leisure hours was such as became persons of their learning, disposition, and character; and the CARDINAL particularly mentions *St Austin* and *St Basil*, as being almost always of the company.

He came to *Rome* about the beginning of *October*; and the Pope judged it proper he should make a journey to *Spain*, in order to confer more particularly with the Emperor, who was then at *Toledo*, concerning the measures which had been agreed on at *Nice*: from whence he was to go to the Court of *France* on the same errand. The minutes of his Instructions for this Negotiation

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were

\* *Bembo's Letter to Bruno*, vol. 3. of his *Italian Letters*.



were these: "To lay before his Imperial Majesty the whole conduct of the King of *England*, in order to prevail on him to use his best endeavours for bringing back his Kingdom to a Worship it had been constrained to forsake; and putting an end to enormities, no less destructive of mankind, than hateful to God. He was to represent the Pope's proceeding in the late sentence of Excommunication and Deposition, as an example which ought to influence other Princes: That the Emperor would find a conformity of sentiments in the King of *Scotland*, and the new Cardinal *Beton*, on whose ability and credit in those parts great stress might be laid: and, in conclusion, that all further communication with *Henry* should be broken off; and if any other measures were requisite to the end proposed, they were left to the CARDINAL LEGATE's discretion. He was likewise to represent the league against the *Turk*, which was then much talked of, as unseasonable at that juncture; since it would greatly divert the attention of the confederate Princes from the more urgent concerns of *England*, and of the General Council, from putting a check to the errors of *Luther*, and such like salutary purposes. In order to gain this point, he was to insist on the expence of such a league, the time required to form it, and the uncertainty of the event. That, supposing every thing was to answer their most sanguine expectations, and Victory afforded them leisure to concert measures for the relief of *England* and *Germany*; yet their Enemies would be beforehand with them, and by the assistance of *English* money, of which there was great plenty, and of *Lutheran* Soldiers, with whom *Germany* abounded, make an irruption into *Italy*, and involve her

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Provinces in calamities, against which there would be no defence \*.”

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These Instructions are penned in a very loose stile; for which, the importance of the matter considered, it may be hard to account: and they have a hostile air with respect to *Henry*, that it may seem extraordinary the LEGATE should take upon him such a commission. But the relation in which he then stood with his Sovereign, clears up in some measure this difficulty. He had been declared a Traitor, for causes which in their nature do not seem to come under the article of Treason: He was outlawed, and a reward of 50,000 *l.* set on his head; and ruffians besides had been bribed to murder him. He had the precedent of the Barons, who called over the Dauphin of *France*, to free them from the frantic Tyranny of King *John*: and that which happened in his own times, of *Henry VII.* who, though an alien to the Crown, was chosen by the unanimous consent of the Nation, to rescue them from the oppression of *Richard III.* The evils which oppressed his Country with respect to property, conscience, and even life itself, persuaded him of the lawfulness of having recourse to similar means, in order to redress wrongs which had no other prospect of remedy. The undeserved ruin in which *Henry* about this time involved his Family, and the other aggravations with which his personal wrongs were attended; the near alliance he had to the Crown, and the obligation which this laid him under, of being particularly vigilant for the welfare of his Country, seem to have left him more at large as to the expedients, which were to rescue it from such oppression.

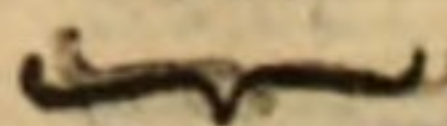
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Though

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 279, inter Monumenta Præliminaria.



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Though it does not belong to this place to determine how far the obligations which bind a Subject to his Prince, may be cancelled by such national as well as personal grievances; yet this, I suppose, may be advanced, that no provocation or circumstances could have made the LEGATE's proceeding more plausible. Nor can it be objected, that the negotiation was, in some part, grounded on a supposition that *Henry*, in virtue of the Papal sentence, had forfeited his right to the Kingdom, since whatever the LEGATE's private opinion might have been of the Pope's deposing power in general, certain it is, that he never instigated the Courts to which he was sent, to act in consequence of it: of the truth of this, as I have elsewhere observed, he himself, in a most formal declaration to *Edward VI.* whose Ministers could not have been ignorant of so recent a fact, is a Voucher above exception. He seems indeed to have fallen into one mistake, in making an estimate of the Emperor's and the *French* King's sentiments by the integrity of his own. They were far from feeling any thing of the Christian and public spirit with which he was animated; but guided by the most profound and incorrigible of all follies, which sees nothing beyond itself, and present convenience; the welfare of a neighbouring Kingdom, the rights of Religion and Humanity, and their own engagements, were no otherwise springs of their Councils, than they were moved by private interest.

As soon as the Embassy was resolved on, the LEGATE wrote to *Nicholas Perenot*, Lord of *Granvelle*, to recommend to him the event of it. This Nobleman was prime Minister to *Charles V.* and, by a rare felicity, preserved his Master's favour during twenty years, and to the end of his life. The LEGATE had observed, at the

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conference of *Nice*, the credit he had with the Emperor; and became at the same time acquainted with his son, whom the father had brought with him to that celebrated Interview. His quick parts and aspiring genius drew on him the observation of our Countryman, as he signifies in his letter to his father, and made him discover in early youth the future Cardinal *Granvelle*; who, through forty years, was at the head of the Councils of *Charles*, and *Philip* his Son, and one of the ablest Ministers and greatest men of his age. The CARDINAL mentions this young Nobleman with particular complacence; and says, he began to love him as a brother, not only for his parts and learning, but his piety, and the goodness of his dispositions. The latter qualifications here taken notice of, do not seem to have been afterwards cultivated with the same care as those, in which merit of another sort is made to consist. In his letter to *Perenot*, the LEGATE intreats him “to lay before his Imperial Majesty the deplorable state of the *English* Nation, in which every thing which could deserve his regard was concerned: That he had a family-interest in the welfare of a People, and the dignity of a Crown, to which the Princess *Mary* was so nearly allied. He lets him know, that having been informed of the scene of Sacrilege, blood and devastation, which now filled the Kingdom, his respect for the Religion of his Ancestors, and love for his Country, caused him to recommend to the Emperor what he had said to him on that head at *Nice*; and, being no stranger to that Minister’s influence, he could not address himself, on so important a subject, to any one so properly as to himself \*.” He

T 4

wrote

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 120, inter *Monumenta Præliminaria*.



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 IV. the same purpose.

30th Nov. 1538. The LEGATE left *Rome* towards the end of the  
 year, and that his journey might be more secret,

6th Jan.  
 1539.

and his person less exposed to danger from *Henry's* Emisseries, it was agreed he should travel in disguise, and with few Attendants, of which number the Writer of his life, as he informs us, was one. At *Bologna* he took up his lodgings at that Gentleman's house, and from thence wrote to *Contareni*, that notwithstanding the intense cold, which had covered the *Apennines* with snow, he had performed the journey with chearfulness; and, though the more disagreeable part of it still remained, on account of its length and difficulty, and the severity of the season, yet, says he, *vincit iter durum pietas*. Four days after, being arrived at *Placentia*, he wrote again to his friend, and informed him, that the Legate of those parts had delivered to him the Pope's letters to both the Princes, to whose Courts he was going, and had with great humanity provided for the convenience of his journey. These letters were penned very accurately, and with the Pope's own hand; and the CARDINAL says, he had expected them with great earnestness, as judging they would be very useful both to the public and private business he was sent on: This is all we know of them\*." Here, likewise, he was met by his faithful friend, the Bishop of *Verona*, who had shared with him in all the disappointments of his former Embassy, and whose conversation greatly relieved the grief, with which the news he then received, oppressed him. The Express who brought it, either met him at *Placentia*, or was sent after him soon after he left *Rome*.

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\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. p. 142. & seq.



The late congress of *Nice*, and the measures there agreed on, had alarmed *Henry's* suspicions, and made him resolve to signalize his resentment on him, to whom he now seemed to impute whatever thwarted his inclinations. Had his hatred of the CARDINAL been less inveterate than it already was, the violence of his temper, and a long habit of acting only by passion, would have armed him with all the terror he now appeared in. The CARDINAL's person being out of his reach, he wreaked the ruin on his Family, and on others of the chief Nobility, whose only crime was their affinity to him. *Henry*, Lord *Montague*, his eldest brother; *Henry Courtenay*, Marquis of *Exeter*, son to *Catharine*, daughter of *Edward IV.* Sir *Edward Nevil*, brother to Lord *Abergavenny*, whose sister *Jane* was married to Lord *Montague*; Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse; Sir *Jefferey Pole*, another of the CARDINAL's brothers, were by the King's orders apprehended and committed to the Tower. It was alleged against Lord *Montague*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, and Sir *Jeffery Pole*, that they had contrived to advance the CARDINAL to the crown; and against Sir *Nicholas Carew*, that he was privy to the design. They were found guilty and condemned. Sir *Jeffery* obtained his pardon, on giving intelligence, as it was reported, which countenanced the condemnation of the rest. "The particular offences of these very eminent persons, says Lord *Herbert*, are not so fully known to me, that I can say much of them:" and all the information which this accurate Historian could gather from our Records, amounts to no more, than "that Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*, the King's Secretary, who was then at the Court of *Brussels*, wrote to Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, Ambassador in *Spain*, "that the accusations were



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great, and duly proved: and that he had else-  
where read, they had sent the CARDINAL money.\*

But, sure, nothing can form so slender an appear-  
ance of guilt, as that one Minister of such a King  
should write in this manner to another, concern-  
ing a transaction, on which the least reflection  
might have cost the person who made it his life:  
and we have seen, in another part of this Work,  
with what shameless and abject flattery *Cromwell*  
wrote to this same *Wyat*, of his Master's proceed-  
ings. Shortly after the Countess of *Salisbury*, mo-  
ther to the CARDINAL; *Gertrude*, widow to the  
Marquis of *Exeter*, and her son, a youth, were  
condemned as Accomplices of those who had been  
put to death: The punishment of the Countess  
was put off for two years, and *Gertrude* died a  
natural death.

The integrity of the noble Sufferers was so un-  
contested that the CARDINAL, writing afterwards  
to the Emperor, made no difficulty to assert of  
his brother, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and Sir *Ed-  
ward Nevil*, "that they were esteemed by all who  
knew them, and by the whole Kingdom, as infe-  
rior to none in nobility, and to have had few  
equals in those qualifications which adorn it."  
"The first, says he, is above all exception, since  
he who put them to death had none nearer in  
blood, after his own Children, than two of them:  
no one ever questioned their duty and allegiance:  
and their whole conduct was faultless, unless in  
too great an obsequiousness to counsels, which  
were pernicious to the Prince himself; though he  
thought them deficient in this point. He adds,  
that, besides the approved tenor of their lives in  
general, there were many presumptions of their  
never having entertained a thought contrary to  
his dignity. That in the late tumults, when his  
declared

\* Life of *Henry VIII.* pag. 439.



declared enemies were numerous, and entirely addicted to their families and interest, they had never absented themselves from the inclosure of his Palace walls; whereas, had they been conscious of having given any sign of disaffection, they would never have remained so long at the side of such a Tiger; as every one was apprised of his unrelenting cruelty, which left no hope for pardon. That could the Charge brought against them have been made out, and they proved to have taken the salutary resolution of delivering their Country from evils, which justify such an enterprise, this must have appeared in the Libel which was published to vindicate the murder of some of the noblest and best men of the Realm. But, having read it very attentively, he could only discover, what he had long suspected, the Tyrant's hatred to Virtue and the Nobility. Several other falsehoods, foreign to the subject, says he, are thrown into the performance, and as he proposed to write a refutation of the whole, and set forth the merit of the Sufferers, the illegality of their condemnation, and their tragical and undeserved end; all he should say there for their justification was, that they died on account of their high Birth, and because the generosity of their minds was equal to their descent: if these had been less conspicuous, they might still have lived\*."

Some months after, having heard of his mother's condemnation, and writing to *Contareni*, he adds the following observation to what I have cited from his Apology to *Charles V.* "The progression, says he, of this man of blood is remarkable. He began by the Priestly Order, and the Magistracy, and put to death the most eminent and deserving of each; he then came to the Nobility, of which he has taken off the flower; and, at length,

22d Sept.

Bp Fisher,  
and Sir  
Tho. More.

\* Apol. ad *Carolus V.* p. 112, & seq.



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IV.

length, is descended to Women and innocent Children. My mother is not the only person of her sex, who now lies under sentence of condemnation: the Wife of the Marquis of *Exeter*, who was beheaded with my brother, and is a pattern of all Christian accomplishments, and her son, a youth, are in the same case: and this fatality has always attended his punishments, that they have fallen on those whom he had most reason to love and reward †."

The Messenger, who, as has been related, met the LEGATE at *Placentia*, had left *England* before his Brother and the other Noblemen were put to death. The sentence was executed on the 9th of *January*, a day before he had given advice of their condemnation to *Contareni*. The misfortunes of his family did not abate his vigour in pursuing the public good, and he staid but one day at *Placentia*, to recollect his mind from the sadness with which such unexpected tidings had seized it; and receive, from the Bishop of *Verona*, that comfort with which, as he expresses himself, the face of a friend never fails to cheer our sorrows. He acknowledges, that no visit was ever more seasonable, and that the Prelate, besides other marks of his affection, had given him a large supply towards defraying the expence of his journey, and enabling him to perform it with ease \*. From *Placentia*, having passed the *Alps*, and being come into *France*, he took the road of *Carpentras*, that he might see his particular friend Cardinal *Sadolet*, who was Bishop of that place. This great man was so taken with the steadiness he made appear under his present trials, that, writing to his friends at *Rome*, "The LEGATE, says he, is truly deserving the fortune to which his high birth intitles him;

† Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 197.

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 144.



him; not that by which he is now persecuted: and though I felt a singular satisfaction at the sight of a person who is dear to me, and whose absence I have often regretted; yet on hearing the disasters of his family, which was at the point of destruction, and the cruelty of a merciless Tyrant, I must have sunk under my grief, had not his virtue and wisdom, who was the party concerned, supported me. He, who in every other circumstance of life has behaved with singular constancy and moderation, and resigned himself to the appointments of Heaven, with a readiness to receive whatever the great Ruler of all things should please to ordain, discoursed on his misfortunes as if he had no personal interest in them, and seemed only concerned for the public calamity †."

From *Carpentras* he set out for *Barcelona*, where he arrived about the end of *January*; and, that he might travel with greater expedition, he took with him only four of his attendants, and proceeded to *Toledo*, where the Court then was. He was no sooner arrived here, but he perceived the King of *England* had been beforehand with him: and that this Negotiation would prove as fruitless as that he had been sent on, two years before, to the *Netherlands*. *Henry* was too well acquainted with the temper of *Charles* and *Francis*, not to know the prospect of private interest would soon make them lose sight of whatever engagements they had taken at *Nice*, either to each other, or against himself; and had ordered his Ambassador to propose to the Emperor an offensive and defensive league against *France*, the common Enemy of both crowns. The Emperor, on his part, little satisfied with the peace he had concluded with that Power, or judging of *Francis's* dispositions

† *Sadoleti* Epist. 1. lib. 13. & 1. lib. 14.



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tions from his own, foresaw it would last no longer than the Convenience which had cemented it: and he resolved not to alienate the mind of a Prince, who, in case of a rupture with his Rival, might be of great use to him. He received the LEGATE, therefore, with coldness, and signified to him, that the present juncture was unseasonable for the execution of what the Pope required: and, in order to rid himself of a person whose presence upbraided him with want of good faith in a matter of high concernment, he advised him to go to *France*, and found the dispositions of that Court, by which, he said, he would regulate his own. The LEGATE, who saw the insincerity of the proposal, and that such a journey would only strengthen the alliance between the Courts of *England* and *Spain*, judged it against the dignity of his character to be the Dupe of such shuffling politics, and expose himself to certain danger, without any cause to justify his so doing. He resolved, therefore, to leave the Court; but before his departure, he represented to the Emperor, with his usual freedom, “that though his concern was very great at the thought of the small succour his Country was to expect from his Majesty, in her day of distress, yet he was not without great anxiety on the Emperor’s own account: that the Annals of Providence were stored with instances of the Almighty’s resentment against such of his Servants as had engaged in league with his Enemies. That the example of the celebrated *Josaphat*, stood foremost in this list, who, though he was dear to his Maker, and had obtained wealth, and glory, and victory, by his favour, yet having got together a great naval force, and seen it destroyed against all human appearance, a Prophet was sent to him with this memorable message, *because thou hast entered into a league with a man* who



who has done many ungodly actions, therefore has God destroyed thy fleet. That the Emperor might so much more justly dread the like punishment, as he seemed to be the Prince particularly marked out by Heaven to assist *England* in her present exigencies. That *Henry* had begun these Evils by an action which was highly injurious to his august House; and that the ties of ancient friendship which united him to the Kingdom, now called him forth in her cause \*." Some time after, writing to *Contareni*, he thought he discovered this chastisement in the Emperor's defeat in *Africa*, and elsewhere. "If I may speak my mind, says he, though perhaps little heed will be given to what I say, had that Prince, who is so closely pressed by the *Turk*, rejected the alliance of another declared enemy of his God, he might have found him more propitious in the defence of his Empire." I am very sensible, that the eminent piety of CARDINAL POLE, which caused him to refer every thing to the Supreme Being, and to what might promote his worship amongst men, gave him several sentiments which will seem singular in an age so little acquainted with his way of thinking: but I should be wanting to the good faith of History, if, on this consideration, I omitted what occurs so often in his life; and be unworthy to transmit his Character to Posterity, could I think it stood in need of any Apology for what he must have esteemed the most valuable part of it. The defeat which the LEGATE alludes to in the above cited passage, was a great advantage gained by the *Turk* over the combined naval force of the Christians. It consisted of two hundred Gallies, thirty six of which had been furnished by the Pope, eighty two by the *Venetians*, and the same number by the Emperor, and were

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 198.



SECT. IV. were commanded by *Andrew Doria*. A dreadful storm of thunder and lightning scattered this Fleet, which, for those times, was formidable, and, night coming on, *Barbarossa*, at the head of one hundred and thirty *Ottoman* Vessels, completed the overthrow on the coast of *Dalmatia*. Some of the Gallies that had escaped, appeared again at Sea in a few days, and took *Castel novo*, a strong hold on the same Coast; but this was soon after retaken by the *Turk*; and the Garison, which was very numerous, and composed of some of the bravest troops in *Europe*, commanded by *Sarmiento*, a *Spaniard*, all put to the sword\*.

24th Sept.  
1538.

Before the LEGATE left *Toledo*, *Granvelle*, the prime Minister, let him know, that during the short stay he had made there, the *English* Ambassador, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, had publicly given out, that if the King his Master would cause him to be proclaimed a Traitor in all the towns of *England*; and give him, when he was recalled from his Embassy, the commission to dispatch him, with ten thousand pounds to effect it; he would forfeit his whole estate, which was very large, if he did not compass his death within six months. At the same time he spoke of *Rome*, and the neighbourhood, as the fittest place for such a deed. The LEGATE had then looked on this discourse as the frantic boast of a mad young man, with whose profligateness he was well acquainted: but what followed caused him to make some reflections on it: for soon after the Ambassador was recalled; the LEGATE was proclaimed a Traitor with a formality, which, till then, had not been observed; *Wyat* was not returned to *England*; and several months after, it was not known where he was†.

The

\* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. pag. 436. Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 196.

† Ibid. pag. 193, 194.



The LEGATE, on leaving *Toledo*, took the same road by which he came, and was no sooner arrived at *Carpentras*, but he ordered *Becatelli*, his Secretary, to give a full account to *Contareni*, who had the Pope's chief confidence, of the reception he had met with. At the same time, though he did not think it proper to go to the Court of *France*, as the Instructions which he received, on leaving *Rome*, directed; yet, that nothing on his part might be wanting to bring the negotiation to a desirable issue, he sent one of his household, whom he judged best qualified for that purpose. It was the Abbé *Parpalia*, who is mentioned by *Flaminius*, and was, afterwards, one of the LEGATE'S Associates in the Society of *Viterbo*. He had been with him at *Toledo*; was, as he says, perfectly well informed of the nature of the Embassy, had long practised the *Spanish* and *French* Courts, and had the business he was employed in thoroughly at heart. But he likewise found this other Mart of Royal alliances forestalled by the King of *England* \*." Henry had already made very pressing overtures to *Francis*, in order to disunite him from the Emperor: soon after, he went so far as to send the Duke of *Norfolk*, to offer him his assistance to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, to remit all the arrears of pensions and salt-money, due from that Prince; and with all industry, as Lord *Herbert* expresses himself, to make him jealous of the Emperor's ambition †. The Abbé, therefore, was received with a politeness peculiar to that nation, and heard with great attention: a readiness to come into the measures he proposed, was

\* Etenim eodem tempore Anglus utriusque, et Cæsaris et Galli animum vanis ac fallacibus pollicitationibus pertentaverat. *Vita Poli*, fol. 16. à tergo.

† Lord *Herbert*, page 451.



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was signified in general terms; but the real amount of his journey was no more, than to leave behind him the reputation of a fine speaker †. On his return to *Carpentras*, he was dispatched to *Rome*, to lay before the Pope the whole state of the Embassy; and represent, amongst other things, that though the Nuncio at *Toledo* had assured his Holiness, that the LEGATE, at his arrival, should find the Emperor ready to acquit himself of his engagements, yet he had seen no effect of such a declaration: that his Imperial Majesty had, on the contrary, excused himself from complying with them, on account of the affairs he had on his hands, the *Ottoman* war, and what he had to apprehend from the *Lutherans*; and had insisted on being assured of the *French* King's disposition, before he entered on action. He was likewise instructed to inform the Pope, that if, on the abovementioned declaration, and that which the *French* Court had made to the same purpose, he still thought it worth while to renew the negotiation, there would be no occasion to send him again to *Spain*, as the Abbé might very well be intrusted with the whole business: and when these Princes were come to a final and real resolution, it would be time enough for him to regulate with them, on the Pope's part, every thing which concerned the *English* nation \*. “ He wrote, likewise, to *Contareni*, that *Parpalia* would lay before him the account of his Expences, which far exceeded his Income; though he had lain out in it all his savings; and that his Journeys from *Italy* to *Spain*, and from thence to *France*, had reduced him very low: but that the importance of the business, and the need there was of dispatch, well deserved all this. That he made no doubt but his Holiness would vouchsafe to make a suitable

† *Pallav.* l. 4. c. 4.\* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 2. pag. 150. & seq.



able provision for this and other occurrences which might happen; and that he was well assured his Friend's favour and credit would not be wanting to him †." *Contareni*, in his answer, informs him, that the Pope was not only entirely satisfied with his conduct in the Embassy, but moreover spoke of his prudence and presence of mind in the most honourable terms.

8th April,  
1539.

In this interval, the death of the Empress *Isabella* was an incident which gave occasion to a farther attempt in behalf of the affairs of *England*; and was attended with an instance of the vanity of human felicity, which deserves to be recorded. She died at *Toledo*, soon after the LEGATE had left that city; and *Francis Borgia*, eldest son to the Duke of *Gandia*, was appointed by the Emperor to accompany the Corps to *Granada*, the burying-place of the Catholic Kings. Being about to deliver it to the Clergy of the cathedral, the leaden coffin was opened, that the young Nobleman might make oath, as the custom is in such ceremonies, that it was the Corps of the Empress. But all that remained of so lovely a person, was a hideous and confused mass of rottenness and corruption. Those who were to be Vouchers to a likeness, of which there was not the least trace, refused to attest it; and withdrew at a distance, to spare themselves the horror, caused by the sight and stench of one, who, a few days before, was accounted the most beautiful and fortunate woman in the world. Of all the attendants, there was not a single person, who on such appearances durst affirm on oath, that to be the face on which they had so often gazed with admiration: the Marquis, who had the steadiness to consider it with more attention

U 2

than

† Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 150, et seq.



than the rest, was not less staggered, when he was required to swear to the identity of the person; and he only deposed, that the care he had taken to have the Corps watched, left him no room to doubt of its being that of the Empress. He then compared the attendance which he had lately seen about her; the court himself had often paid her; the pomp and magnificence which surrounded her person; with the condition in which she then was: and this reflection wrought in him a more extraordinary change than what Death had caused in the Princess. He took a resolution of quitting the world, and devoting himself wholly to the service of God; which he executed afterwards, when he was Duke of *Gandia*, to the wonder and edification of all *Europe* \*.

The Pope on this occasion sent Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, to make his compliments of condolence to the Emperor; with orders to call on the *English* CARDINAL, as he passed through *Carpentras*, and confer with him on a method of bringing that Prince to a more satisfactory and explicit declaration with respect to *England*. We have four letters of this youthful Statesman, during the short stay he made at *Toledo*; in all which the affairs of the *English* nation are particularly mentioned. The Emperor declared, he would have no misunderstanding with *Henry* till the tranquillity of *Germany* was settled; that the King of *France* might act as he thought fit: but as soon as *Germany* gave him no farther disturbance, though that Prince should refuse to act in conjunction with him, he alone would avenge the injury done to Religion and to his own Family; and both the Emperor, and his Minister *Gravelle*, insisted on CARDINAL POLE's going to the Court

\* Vie de St F. de Borgia, par V. J. liv. 1.



Court of *France* †. The reason assigned was, to induce the King to break off all measures with *Henry*; but the real motive was to create in him a jealousy at this journey, and by this means unite him more closely to the *Spanish* interest. The LEGATE however, that he might remove from himself all appearances of having been wanting to the success of the negotiation, wrote to the Pope's Ambassador at *Paris*, to know if his presence at that Court would be of any service to his Country: and the answer he received, justifies the prudence of the conduct he had already held on that head. It was to the following purpose; "That he had not taken upon himself to give the LEGATE his opinion on the subject of his letter, lest he might expose him to a second journey, as fruitless as that which he had taken in his way to *Flanders*; but having communicated it to the Minister, who had spoken to the King, he had returned him this answer: That though his Majesty's intentions would always be very sincere, with respect to what he had agreed on with the Emperor, whenever that Prince should think proper to fulfil his part of the engagement; yet he did not approve of the LEGATE's journey to *France*, as it would raise suspicions in the King of *England*, and render the measures they were to enter on less efficacious. The Ambassador likewise lets him know, that as soon as he had heard from *Farnese*, he would bring the affair again on the carpet; and, as he saw no indication of change of sentiments in the *French* Ministry, provided they were sure of the Emperor, he had still hopes the affair would have the desired issue \*."

*Paris*, 8th  
In July.

U 3

† Monum. Prælim. Epist. Reg. Poli, pars 2.

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. pag. 164.



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In this manner insincerity was bandied about from *Toledo* to *Paris*, and from thence to *Toledo*; the sole design of these Courts being to amuse that of *Rome*, and avail themselves of her authority. They were conscious what part became the high rank they held, and the variety of expedients they had to execute it, without coming to declared hostilities: but because it did not coincide with what is termed reason of State, it was treated with coldness and irresolution, and at length laid quite aside. These dispositions, so unworthy those who were wholly guided by them, caused the LEGATE to conclude a letter to *Contareni*, with the following remark: "That he had learnt from the experience of many years, that no cause had a less favourable reception with mankind, than that which properly regarded God and his Worship; though this was what every one allowed to be the purport of the petition, by which we ask *that his will may be done*: and, this being the case, no one could wonder at the evils which oppressed Christendom; and for which he saw no other remedy than earnest supplication to the Almighty. That, if after a sincere change of our own heart, we desire to bring others over to the same rectitude, the attempt, however well grounded, will be to no purpose, unless the hearers have a teachable disposition: we were therefore to have recourse to prayer, if we desired either safety to ourselves, or relief to public calamities. That our holy Faith, and the Writings of able Men, had already taught us the insufficiency of other remedies; but now we knew it by experience. Let us then, says he, first use this means in our own behalf, and afterwards on that of others. As for myself, I am encompassed with such a variety of afflictions, that I scarcely know



know how to extricate myself †. These were the death of his elder brother, his mother's condemnation, and several more of his friends and relations, either under sentence of death, or executed.

Thus ended the second and last attempt which the CARDINAL made by the Pope's orders, and at the request of the two most powerful Princes in *Europe*, in favour of a Kingdom, in whose welfare neither of them interested himself any further, than to make its wealth and power useful to his ambition. If the grounds on which he proceeded, seem too slender for any great hopes of success, this discussion belonged to another department. He was only to execute the Orders of a higher Power, of whose good-will to his Country he had no doubt. But it is well worth observing, that a project which had now been twice vainly attempted, or rather, had disappeared as soon as it was concerted, was a few years after brought about as soon almost as proposed; and the same Person, who, for his attachment to the Religion of his Ancestors, had, even in foreign Realms, been hardly safe from the ambushes and open violence of his Country, and had been proscribed and declared a Traitor, was recalled, by the united authority of the Legislature, and the general voice of the People, to restore them to that Worship, which had been his only guilt. The only opposition he then found, was from the selfish views of the same Emperor, which had caused all the disappointments I have related; and whose behaviour on this occasion justifies *Tertullian's* expression, where, speaking of the Emperors of his time, he says, "They would long ago have embraced Christianity, could they

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† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 149.



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*Apol. cap.*  
21.

have prevailed on themselves to comply with its obligations."

But the CARDINAL'S concern for the public good was not confined to his Country. The part he took in the general welfare of mankind, made him interest himself in that of *Germany*. Several States of the Empire were already bewildered in the maze of Novelty, and the rest seemed on the point of losing themselves in the same labyrinth. At the beginning of this year, a Diet had been held at *Frankfort*, in order to settle the affairs of Religion; of which the Emperor had been the chief promoter; and at which a great number of Catholics and *Lutherans* assisted, but without any one on the part of the Pope. It was moreover agreed, that his Legates should be excluded from all future meetings of that kind; and all religious matters to be carried on under the authority of *Charles*, and his brother *Ferdinand*, who was elected King of the *Romans*, and be ratified by them. As no proceeding could be more irregular, than that the first Bishop of the Christian World should not be admitted to debates, wherein the chief articles of Religion were to be discussed, and the prerogative of his See be transferred to a Lay Power, the Pope took the justest offence at it; and Cardinal *Alexander* expostulated with *Ferdinand*, both by word of mouth and writing, on the scandal it had caused, and the evil it was likely to produce. He could not be at a loss to prove the incongruity of such measures; and that, under the pretext of redressing wrongs, they have ever been the occasion of greater mischiefs than those they were designed to remedy \*. This truth is so obvious, that *Procopius*, a Pagan Writer, observes, the meddling in concerns of Religion,

\* *Heiss Hist. de l'Emp. Annales Raynaldi. Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trid. l. 4. c. 8. N<sup>o</sup> 10.*



to have been one of the capital faults in the character of *Justinian*.

The Preliminaries being agreed on at *Frankfort*, the controverted points were to be discussed, in the following *October*, in a Diet at *Nuremberg*; and the time drawing near, the *English* CARDINAL made no scruple of writing to *Contareni*, "That though the most resolute opposition was to be made to the King of *England's* innovations, yet he was not the Prince, from whom Religion was likely to receive the deepest wounds: And that such a character, as *Cato* describes his to have been, who undertook the ruin of the Commonwealth with thought and sobriety, was much more to be feared: That there were now two of this Character; and, unless an obstacle was put to the private meetings, which were managed by their authority, it required no great degree of sagacity to foresee where they would end; and that the Church was in danger of being rent by more grievous divisions than she had suffered for some centuries. That the Pope's Ambassador in *Spain* had given him the first intelligence of these matters, which had since been enlarged on by *Farnese*. He concludes, that the affairs of Religion in *Germany* were in so critical a situation, that, notwithstanding his love for *Contareni*, and the inclination he had for privacy, yet his concern for the common cause prevailed over other considerations, and made him earnestly desire that so able a Negotiator might be sent thither †." This desire of the CARDINAL had its effect; for the Diet, after many fruitless meetings at different places, was adjourned to *Ratisbon*, in 1541, and *Contareni* received, as the Pope's Legate, by the Emperor, who was present at the opening of the Assembly. The success indeed

† Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. pag. 158.



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Simplex et  
absoluta.

of this meeting was no better than the former had met with; for the *Lutherans* insisted on changes and abatements in a Religion, which, as another Pagan, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, observes, on account of the absolute singleness of its system, admits of none. However, the irregularity in the form of their proceedings, and the scandal caused by it, was removed.

The CARDINAL, having acquitted himself of what he owed the Public, sought in the conversation and friendship of *Sadolet* some relief in the affliction, with which the state of his Country, and the total ruin which threatened his family, oppressed him. He lodged in a convent near *Carpentras*, and not far from his friend's country house; the solitude of the place making him prefer it to any other, as most suited to his present state of mind: and as the same dispositions always attended him in the same circumstances, the manner of passing his time in this retirement, was similar to that which I have related of his occupations at *Liege*. But as nothing lets us so thoroughly into a Character, as such particulars of domestic life; and no actions convey more useful and practical instruction, than those which flow from a great man, when the eyes of the Public are off him; I shall set down the brief account he gives of himself, in a letter to *Contarini*. "*Priuli*, says he, *Becatelli*, and myself, have for our mutual consolation begun a conference on the *Psalms*; and to-day we came to that which begins, *Save me, O Lord, because the Righteous have failed; because Truth has left the Children of Men*. You know what follows. And certainly, whoever has much commerce with them, cannot but feel how necessary it is to beg of God, to preserve him from their treachery; and to acknowledge the favour, when he finds



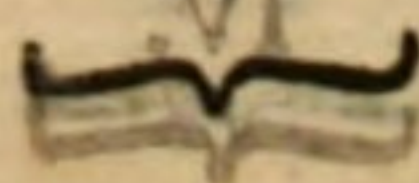
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in any one that sincerity and good faith which becomes His servants. I have sufficiently experienced this almost universal depravity, not to own the happiness I enjoy in the intimacy of a few acquaintance, to whose uprightness I can now, more than ever before, bear an honourable testimony. As to what regards myself, I shall only say, that in all events, I will never cease to praise his goodness who has hitherto protected me. The many disappointments I meet with in his cause, shall never make me distrust seeing it at length end to his honour. We are to persuade ourselves, that all great undertakings, even in the order of Nature, are not brought to succeed, but through great difficulties; and those enterprises, by which the service of God is promoted, are, for the most part, compassed by means which have appeared impossible \*.” If he had been let into the knowledge of what was to happen to himself a few years after, in his return to his Country, and the occasion of it, he could not have expressed his foresight in other terms.

The leisure he enjoyed here, afforded him an opportunity of revising a Work which *Sadolet* had in hand, *on the Reformation of the Church*. It was divided into three parts, of which the Author had gone through two; and being extremely accurate in his compositions, he was desirous that this, which was the most important of them all, should be a finished piece; as we see by the earnestness with which he recommends the revival of it to the most eminent and learned of the sacred College †. The scope of the Work, as we learn from himself, was to prop up the fallen state of the Church, which now seemed to threaten ruin; and establish such manners, and such

De Sub.  
structione  
Ecclesiæ.\* *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2.† *Sad. Epist. l. 13. ad Contarenum, Lauretium, Cervinum.*



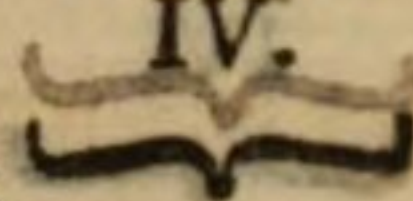


such a discipline, as might be worthy our holy Faith: and in several places it had a great affinity with *Pighius's Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. *Sadolet* had not passed his last judgment on that part of the performance on which he desired the opinion of his friends, when some ill-minded persons picked out several passages, which, disjoined from the context, not only misrepresented the Author's meaning, but had injured his reputation. Whereupon *CARDINAL POLE* intreats *Contareni*, who had passed no censure on those places, to vindicate the honour of so great and deserving a man, from all imputation of having advanced any thing foreign to the received tenets of the Church; and stop the mouths of his adversaries \*. This Work has never appeared in print; either on account of its not having had the Author's finishing hand; or the plainness with which he treated the disorders of his times, and the remedies he judged proper to be applied to them. *Du Pin* has not so much as taken notice of it, in his account of the Writers of the XVIth Century; and *Niceron* has fallen into the same omission; but *Montfaucon* mentions it, as extant among the *Vatican Manuscripts*. The fitness of the subject to the times to which it was addressed; the Author's uncommon sollicitude that the performance might be equal to the undertaking; and the acknowledged accuracy of his other Writings, make

In Bibl.  
MS.

\* Interim verò hoc eum meritò dolet (quod certè nobis omnibus non minus molestum esse debet, pro tanti viri famâ et Collegii conjunctione) quosdam esse inventos, qui ex eodem libro, de quo ipse nondum iudicium firmum fecerat, quem paucis communicandum, et his solus, quorum iudicium exquirebat, esse voluit, nescio quæ excerpere, et in vulgus protulere, quæ nec cum illius sententiâ, cùm scriberet, conveniunt, et huic infamiam apud ignaros rei veritatis inurere possent, tanquam novi et alieni à consuetâ Ecclesiæ doctrinâ dogmatis Author esse vellet. *R. Poli Epist. pars 2. pag. 146.*





make the regret for the loss of this, less the effect of curiosity than of reason.

Nothing could be more different than this peaceable and rational industry in promoting the cause of Truth, with which the CARDINAL and his friends were taken up, and the boisterous proceeding by which *Henry* was giving the Nation to understand, they had exchanged the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, for the arbitrary will of a capricious and bloody Prince. Three years before the time I am speaking of, he drew up a profession of Faith, in which he established the Sacrament of *Penitence*, and Auricular *Confession*; the real Presence of JESUS CHRIST in the Eucharist; Prayer for the Dead; the Invocation of Saints, and the respect due to their Pictures and Images; the Ceremonies used in blessing water, and the Exorcisms performed in Baptism; the custom of receiving Ashes at the beginning of *Lent*, and of carrying Palm-branches on the *Sunday* that bears that name; the Prostrations made before the Cross, and the custom of kissing it on *Good-Friday*, as a symbolical language, which recalled the memory of God's benefits, and raised the mind to spiritual and heavenly things. In all this there was nothing but what had been the constant doctrine of Antiquity, and was then held and practised by the whole Catholic Church. The novelty consisted in this, that whereas these Articles had hitherto rested on the Gospel, and the unanimous consent of the Christian World, the King would now have them received by virtue of his new Headship; and therefore added a clause, to which the Church had been yet a stranger, by which *the Bishops were ordered to publish them to the People. HE had committed to their charge.* The Prelates had been heard on these heads, as Judges hear their Council;



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cil; but the King alone had decided on what was in debate. He now reduced this Profession, which was something long, and took in a variety of matter, to the *six* following *Articles*, and recommended them by an argument, of which it must be allowed he was perfectly master. By the first, the belief of *Transubstantiation* was in-joined under pain of the same forfeitures which are incurred by Felony, and of being burnt to death. This article was enforced by a cruelty of a singular kind, and well suited to the Law-giver's temper; for the abjuration of the contrary error could not exempt the delinquent from the punishment he was liable to by falling into it. *Communion* in one kind, and the *Celibacy* of the Priesthood were enacted, by the second and third Articles, under pain of death; and by the three others, the perpetual *Obligation* of Vows of Chastity, the *Utility* of private Masses, and the *Necessity* of auricular Confession. Imprisonment, forfeiture, death itself, was the punishment of those who obstinately denied any of these points, or lived in defiance of them †.

It would have been a sufficient disgrace to our Annals, to be stained by such inhuman Edicts, had they been the deed only of one frantic Tyrant; but such was the slavish disposition of the Parliament, that they not only passed all this into a Law, but gave up at the same time all the Civil and Religious Rights of the Nation; and, by one liberal surrender, made themselves of no farther use, and subverted the *English* Constitution. These mean Deserters of their Country's cause passed an Act, by which the power of the whole Legislature was annexed to all Royal Proclamations, which were to have the force of per-

† Anno 31 Henry VIII. cap. 14. Lord Herbert, p. 446.



perpetual Laws; and full power given to the King to inflict what punishment he thought fit on the Transgressors. But, that the trust reposed in them might receive all the prostitution, to which such shameless Guardians could expose it, they acknowledged, that the Statute here passed, conferred no new power on his Majesty, and was but declarative of a Prerogative inherent in the Crown, of which the Statute ascertained the extent; and by that means took from ill-minded persons all pretext of disobeying the King, *who*, as they take care to inform the Nation, *would bear it full ill* \*. A further instance of degeneracy was still possible, of which I shall have occasion to speak afterwards, and the Parliament was unwilling posterity should not be informed they had been capable of it: and accordingly they attainted a person of the first quality in *England*, who was within the Realm, without trial, or citing her to appear before them.

The CARDINAL having made some stay in the neighbourhood of *Carpentras*, the Pope signified to him a desire of his returning to *Rome*; but the calamities of his Family and Country, which seem now to have wholly taken up his mind, and sunk his spirits, made him intreat his Holiness, “to suffer him to remain in solitude, as what alone was decent in his present situation: That, although in other circumstances it would be a singular pleasure to him to pay his respects to the Pope, and enjoy the conversation of his friends; yet, as the diseases of the body often hinder the mind in what it is most intent on; so he now experienced, that a sick and distempered state of mind, deprived him of the contentment he should take in what would otherwise be most agreeable: That he hoped to be revisited by more chearful days;

\* Anno 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 8.



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days; and though his Country lay under every kind of oppression, yet it still made a part of his Saviour's Kingdom, to whom *all power in heaven and earth is given*: That he supported himself with the consciousness of having given no occasion to these disasters; of having, to the utmost of his power, opposed those who were the Authors of them; and having never been wanting in his endeavours to redress them\*." He reminds *Contareni*, that if it had been always usual to allow some cessation from all public business, to those who had lost either a Parent, a Wife, or a Child; with how much more reason might he, who had lost, almost in the same instant, all who were dearest to him, either by death or imprisonment, claim this exemption? That the total desolation of the Liberties and Religion of his Country, was more sensible to him than any private consideration; and the least he could do, was to weep in secret over her Ruins; and withdraw from the Public, where, as matters now stood, he could be of service to no body, and must be a burden to himself. He alledges the dearth of provisions at *Rome*; and the just apprehensions he was under from the threats of the *English* Ambassador at the Court of *Spain*. He tells his Friend, he supposes he has heard of his mother being sentenced to death, that is, says he, to life eternal; for, unless he understood it in that manner, his own life would be insupportable to him: and, alluding to a passage in *Exodus*, that notwithstanding this firm persuasion, he could not bear the light, unless he sheltered himself under the *Rock*, and was hid in the *Cavern*, whilst the *Glory* of the Lord passed by †."

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. epist. 80.† *Ibid.* pag. 197.



He had finished the letter, when he received advice from *Contarini* of the death of Cardinal *Campegio*, on whom the King, many years before, had conferred the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*; though, since his rupture with the See of *Rome*, he had deprived him of the Revenues; and the Pope had thoughts of nominating CARDINAL POLE to it. It had always been his opinion, that after the death of the present Incumbent, the Pontiff, notwithstanding the custom of conferring benefices which are vacated in that Court, should nominate no other person to this Bishoprick; but now the present occasion of its vacancy, and the offer of it made to himself, led him into a train of thought, with which the Reader cannot but be entertained. “The result, says he to his Friend, of my mind on this affair, is, that if *England* recovers its former state, I can never be at a loss for Church-benefices, if I desire them: but as things now are, I do not see what greater emolument I should receive from the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, than from that of *Antioch*, were I nominated to it; and if honour only be intended, you must be sensible how very slender this is. As I am no stranger to my Countrymen, and to what will chiefly move their scorn; I am well assured, they will no sooner have heard of this Collation, but it will become the subject of universal rally: and it is on this account, that I am extremely desirous the Public may never be informed of your having any part in this proposal. What must well-disposed persons in *England*, who are informed of what I have forfeited and refused in defence of the Apostolic See, think, when they hear that a provision is made for me from a benefice, the profits of which are enjoyed by another? What construction can they put on such proceedings? Those



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of another turn will have ample matter for mockery, when, after having rejected their fattest morsels, like the flesh-pots of *Egypt*, they see me reduced to take up with offals, whilst they are feasting on the fat and the marrow. I well remember, when they formerly endeavoured to divert me from leaving their party, no argument was pressed so closely as this: they told me, that by so doing I gave up all means of subsistence; and desired to be credited on what experience had taught them of the Court of *Rome*. No one was more eloquent in this argument than *Tonstal*, Bishop of *Durham*, the most learned person of the Nation, and who had the highest reputation for Virtue, till he deserted her cause; and was at that time my dearest friend. When it was visible to which side I inclined, he wrote to me, by the King's orders, that I was about to quit the high road to preferment, for a by-way of very uncertain issue; and that I might give credit to him, who was practised in those matters, when he affirmed, my simplicity would be imposed on. The answer I made was, that if I acted with integrity, I could not be the loser; and, if I did not, I deserved to bear the punishment. But if they are apprised of my being named to this Bishoprick, no subject could afford them more matter for ridicule, or be a stronger confirmation of their former predictions; and I expect shortly to see something from the Press on this head, as they have already published on much more idle subjects. If it be replied, that no account is to be made, either of what they think or say; yet nothing can be reputed a benefit, but what is grateful to him who receives it: and who is so well acquainted with my way of thinking on this whole affair, as yourself? Wherefore, though I cannot but acknowledge the distinction with which

his



his Holiness treats me on this occasion; yet the favour I now ask, preferably to all benefices, is to retire for some time, till those wounds are healed, which I received by engaging in the public cause. If I obtain this, I shall have all I can enjoy in my present circumstances: the rest depends on Heaven \*."

But though the CARDINAL's mind laboured under all the oppression he has described; his grief did not betray him into a behaviour unbecoming the high character for wisdom and steadiness he had hitherto maintained; and his whole carriage was so free from sadness and dejection, that it was a pattern of the contrary virtues to all who were witnesses of it. *Sadolet*, in whose neighbourhood he now lived, has done him justice on this head, in a letter to *Farnese*. "Your intimate Friend POLE, says he, a man of the most unshaken constancy, and whose virtue is of a superior order, and worthy our admiration, is now with me. I have formerly had frequent opportunities of being acquainted with him; but his character never appeared to greater advantage, than in his present adverse fortune, and the calamities which have befallen his family. He is therefore held by all here in the highest estimation; and they look on him as one come down to them from a happier state of Beings, or brought back from venerable Antiquity. This opinion is owing to his wisdom, modesty, humanity, and religion; and it greatly redounds to the honour of the holy See, that foreign Countries should behold what sort of Men are placed at the helm †."

## X 2

## The

\* *Epist. R. Poli*, pars 2. epist. 80. 16th August, 1539.

† *Polus tuus, vir fortissimi animi, virtutisque non eximiae solum, verum etiam admirabilis (quod ipse et alias sæpe et nunc*

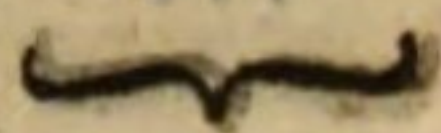


The remonstrances which the CARDINAL had made, only delayed his journey to *Rome* a few months; for the Pope, either desirous to have so able and experienced an Adviser near his person, or because the Emperor had signified, that since he did not go to the *French* Court, it would be agreeable to him that he should be employed elsewhere, ordered him to set out on his return to *Italy* †. He left therefore the Monastery in the neighbourhood of *Carpentras*, about the beginning of *October*, that he might spend some time with the Bishop of *Verona*, of whose friendship he had received such signal proofs, and arrive at *Rome* before the end of the year. He informed *Contareni* of this design, and concludes with these remarkable lines: “ I have signified to you every thing which can contribute not only to my comfort, but to my safety; and you are not ignorant of what moment it is to a mind ruffled like mine, not to lie open to new trials, either of grief or fear. I shun *Rome*, as the place my enemies have pitched on for my ruin: and though, under such an apprehension, I may be safe, I can never be secure. I might add, that it would be a satisfaction to my family, if any of them yet remain, to be informed I had obtained every thing I desired for the safety of my person. I could do no less than ask you to impart this to his Holiness, that I might acquit myself of a duty

nunc cum maximè, in hac iniquitate fortunæ, acerbisque suorum eventibus declarat) summa mea cum voluptate nunc est *Carpentoracæ*. Itaque ab omnibus colitur, et in honore habetur, ut non hominem nostri temporis, sed quasi è cœlo demissum, aut ab antiquitate nobis redditum, videantur intueri. Tantâ est is sapientiâ, modestiâ, humanitate, religione: quod quidem in gloriam vestri nominis cedit, cum videant hæ nationes cujusmodi vos viros ad sedis Apostolicæ gubernacula accendos esse putaveritis. *Jac. Sad. Epist. lib. 12.*

† *Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 2. pag. 192.*





duty which self-preservation imposes on every one, by proposing what I thought would contribute to it. As to the Russian's stroke, I shall endeavour not to be unprepared for it. My prayers, *Contareni*, are constantly offered up for his Holiness and yourself; and will, I hope, be less interrupted, when those ties are loosed by which I hold to this life; which, if it be for the service of my Maker, cannot happen too soon for my desire \*."

Before he set out, he received advice from *Farnese*, that a Gentleman of the Pope's bed-chamber, who was going to *Toledo*, had orders, amongst other things, to excuse the backwardness he had shewn in going to the *French* Court, on his leaving *Spain*. To which he replied, with a freedom becoming a native of *England*, and the consciousness of his own integrity, "That his conduct in that respect stood in need of no Apology, as he was so far from being backward in taking that journey, had it been attended with any prospect either of public benefit, or of his honour, on whose part he was to have gone, that no danger should have hindered him: That, notwithstanding the inconveniency to which such a step would have exposed himself, and the detriment it must have brought on his Country's cause and the dignity of the See of *Rome*, he had not refused the commission, but had waited for second Orders from him, whose Ambassador he was, and whose commands he was disposed to execute, as soon as they were intimated to him †." Having added this in his justification, to what he had already written to *Contareni*, he set out with all his Retinue, and amongst the rest, *Prinli* and *Becatelli*; the latter of whom was lately recovered

X 3

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 2. pag. 195.

† *Ibid.* p. 197.



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of a fever, and had just strength enough to begin a journey.

chap. 7.

Not far from the great road, between *Aix* and *Marseilles*, lies the *Sainte-Beaume*; which has not only been revered for several ages on a religious motive, but celebrated by very eminent Writers, as a subject equal to their pen. *Petrarch*, who lived many years in *Provence*, has described it in verse. It is a wonderful cavern, formed by nature in a rock of incredible height, and surrounded with a scenery suited to the purposes of solitude and Christian severity. An ancient tradition has supposed it to have been the abode of the holy Woman, whose penitential tears are recorded in such an honourable detail by St *Luke*; and that she was *Mary Magdalene*, and the sister of *Martha* and *Lazarus*; though St *Luke* suppresses her name, and the other Evangelists nowhere give us to understand that she was the *Magdalene*, or that *Magdalene* was *Lazarus's* and *Martha's* sister. The same tradition has added, that, after our Lord's Ascension, they were all shipped off in a shattered Vessel, in hatred to their divine Master, whose favourite Disciples they had been, and conducted by Providence to the coast of *Provence*, where the sisters are said to have passed the remainder of their days. The fitness of the place for penitential Exercises probably gave birth to this opinion. But though the historical facts on which it is grounded be of very doubtful authority; yet the veneration paid to the memory of an illustrious Penitent, on whose demonstrations of love towards his sacred Person, the Son of God seems to dwell with complacence, is not less commendable; or the prayers offered through her intercession, less efficacious; or the penitential sentiments, with which this opinion has inspired numberless persons who resort to the place,







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selfish consideration bedewed my face, such drops would have sued for vengeance rather than mercy, on one, from whom I had received such wrongs. But they were tears, of which I had the example in his blessed Son, whose prayer was heard, as the Apostle says, for the deference which was due to him, and who being himself pure of all guilt, prayed for those who laboured under it: That, under favour of his recommendation, I presumed to offer up mine to the throne of mercy; and begged they might, in virtue of those shed by my Redeemer for his Enemies, obtain a like propitious grace for the King. I often repeated, that it was his mercy alone which had opened these sluices of piety and compassion, and that I hoped he would admit them into his presence. This was my silent prayer to God, but I felt not the inward comfort I desired, as a pledge of my request being granted. I rather seemed to hear a voice which increased my affliction, and was the same which said to the Prophet, who was likewise supplicating for his Sovereign, *Why dost thou lament a person, whom I have cast off?*\*

Being arrived at *Verona*, the CARDINAL experienced the usual benevolence and liberality of the Prelate of that City, who, as has been elsewhere seen, to every qualification suited to his sacred character, joined that which renders great wealth useful to the real and noble purposes, which, according to the true meaning of the word, constitute Magnificence. During his stay here, he received the following letter from *Isidore Clario*, who was then a private religious man of *St Peter's Monastery in Modena*, and was afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of *Foligno*. "It was no small joy to me, my Lord, to hear of your safe arrival at *Verona*, after a troublesome and dangerous

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4. Epist. ad Edouardum VI, § 46.



ous embassy; but I was greatly disappointed at your not taking *Modena* in your way, where you would have met with the best welcome we could give. The favour, I own, was so far above my deserts, that I had no reason to expect it, and therefore comfort myself though it was denied me. I could not, however, on this occasion but call to mind the advantages I have formerly received from your conversation; and regret the loss of an opportunity, which perhaps may never be offered again. I find by experience, that nothing affords more assistance in the difficult paths of life, or more powerfully raises our mind above the low joys of the world, than the conversation of the wise and good; and the advantage we receive from it is equal, I had almost said, superior, to what the best books afford \*."

*Thuanus* speaks of this extraordinary personage, "as one skilled in the learned Languages, and not more commendable for his excellence in Christian erudition, than his blameless manners, and a spirit that breathed nothing but charity, and the reformation of the Church: His liberality and gentleness to the Poor, joined to the purity of his life, raised such an opinion of his sanctity, that, at his death, nothing could hinder the people from breaking into the chamber where he lay exposed for forty hours, without any appearance of putrefaction. He died three years before the CARDINAL, on the 28th of *May*, 1555 †."

I should not have mentioned this Prelate in such a detail, was it not to add another instance to the many, which the course of this History has already led me to, of the character of CARDINAL POLE's acquaintance; and of the many excellent personages in every kind of merit, with which the Church of

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 19.

† *Thuan.* lib. 16. ad annum 1555.



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of *Rome* abounded, in an age whose disorders in general were very great; and in that country and order of men, on which the severity of the censure has chiefly fallen. Whereas the character of *Henry* and *Cromwell*, and the rest of his Instruments; and of almost all the *German* Reformers, furnishes the strongest proof, that persons at such variance with one another, and whose lives were so remarkably faulty, were never designed by the Source of truth and holiness to enlighten and reform mankind.

On the CARDINAL's coming to *Rome*, he found that his Work *On the Church's Unity*, which was one continued discourse, had been divided into four parts, and printed in his absence, and without his knowledge. The treatise, as has been said, was originally designed for the King of *England* alone, without any view of making it public; yet, as the impression had been taken off by the Pope's orders, all he could obtain was, that the Copies might be in his own keeping, till he had written a Preface, which was much desired. He had already begun, in a discourse addressed to the Emperor, a brief recapitulation of *Henry's* Life; which he now judged would serve that purpose, and be the best Apology for those passages where the King is treated with great freedom. But though this work was far advanced, he deferred, some years, putting the finishing hand to it, which, in some places, it still seems to have never had. His reason for proceeding with this slowness, as he informs *Edward VI.* was a regard for the King his Father's character, having obtained a delay of the publication of the Work, till the Treatise, which was to be prefixed to it, was finished \*." ----- The facts it contains come down no lower than the present year 1539, and I have

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4. Epist. ad Edouardum VI. § 48.



I have had frequent occasion to refer to it in the course of this History.

The method he observes in this *Preface*, which is one of the most animated pieces that has appeared in any language, is, first, to relate the substance of the facts, which had hitherto disgraced *Henry's* reign; and, then, to consider them in every light which can set off their deformity; and describe, if possible, a scene of tyranny, rapine, bloodshed, and sacrilege, by which the years, the months, and almost the days of those annals are blackened, with a strength of sentiment and diction equal to such horrors. He omits no circumstance, no reflection, which can add life to the narrative, and draw, as he says, a representation of those Regions of Woe, where nought is heard or seen but wailing and gnashing of teeth, and the appearance of tormenting fiends. When he wrote the Work, he was at an age when genius is in its full vigour; and the facts, which he relates, were recent. The most distant were in every one's memory, and most of them were daily transacted under their observation. The CARDINAL himself had been a Spectator of several, and was informed of the rest by witnesses above all exception, and the universal voice of *Europe*. Thus the whole narrative comes to us recommended by every test of credibility; and the different sentiments of indignation and pity, which such a variety of wickedness and misery raised in the Relator's mind, equally affect the Reader. At the same time, He has been no less just to the laudable part of this Prince's character, in the first years of his reign; and dwells with complacence, not only on what he had done, that was praiseworthy; but on the expectations he had raised of his riper age; and laments with expressions, to which nothing but sincerity could have given utterance,



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terance, the fall of a King he loved and honoured; and for whose welfare, even in the midst of his disorders, there was nothing he was not disposed to undertake or suffer.

I shall conclude this period of CARDINAL POLE'S History, by a brief account of *Bembo*, who was this year raised to the Purple. The early discovery he made, at the University of *Padua*, of our Countryman's genius; and the invariable esteem with which he ever after honoured his virtues, deserve this acknowledgment from the Writer of His Life, who received these marks of distinction from this elegant Judge of merit. The CARDINAL begins the letter he wrote to him on his promotion, "by assuring his Friend of the satisfaction he felt in congratulating him on the same occasion, on which, some years before, he had received from him a like instance of friendship. He observes, that to the civilities usual on such occasions, *Bembo* had added an advice, for which he was greatly beholden to him, of behaving himself in such a manner as to appear deserving of a dignity, which required no small stock of Virtue: and though he had done no more than just hinted the counsel, yet it had made a lasting impression. That, for his own part, though he felt a joy on *Bembo*'s promotion, equal to what He had expressed in his own regard, yet he could only signify it by a sincere congratulation; as his disparity in age, and all other qualifications, would make every thing beyond that improper: all, therefore, he should mention on that head, was, the prospect he now had of seeing before his eyes a model of those qualities, by which the post of honour, in which they were both placed, was chiefly maintained\*."

*Bembo,*

\* Hoc tamen, quia ad fructum hujus gaudii maximè pertinet, adscribere, ut spero, non dedecebit, me maximè abs te expectare,



*Bembo*, in his reply, having thanked the CARDINAL for the part he took in his promotion, says, “his high birth, and his inclinations, not inferior to such an extraction, had been the first motive of his regard for him; but that this had been improved by long acquaintance, and a similitude of those studies, in which they were both engaged: that he had considered, with infinite pleasure, POLE’s inclination to the fine Arts, and the progress he made in them; and that, henceforward, he should not only be a distant admirer, but an eye-witness of his rare accomplishments, and an Associate in the same counsels. He professes a love for him, in which he can be rivalled by none but *Sadolet*: and testifies his joy that the hazards and fatigues of the late negotiation had been compensated by the society of that learned and valuable man †.”

This eminent and amiable person, of whom mention has been made in the former parts of this History, was a native of *Venice*; which, at that time, was the seat of freedom, genius, and valour. His family had given the State great Captains, and excellent Magistrates; and his father being sent Ambassador to *Florence*, he accompanied him, and there formed his Stile to that delicacy in the *Tuscan* language, which is so much admired in his writings. Not satisfied with possessing the beauties of this and the *Latin* tongue, he took a journey into *Sicily*, to study the *Greek*, under *Lascharis*, a celebrated Professor, and a native of *Greece*. He then heard a course of Philosophy from *Leonico*, and discovered a wonderful aptitude to every kind of polite literature. His

*Italian*  
pectare, ut exemplar ante oculos ejus virtutis habeam, quæ maximè conservatur hæc dignitas, ad quam tu me verbis paulò antè incitasti. Epist. R. Poli, pars 2. pag. 204.

† *P. Bembi* Epist. ad Card. *Polum*.



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*Italian* verses were read in all polite Assemblies of that knowing age and country: the freedom of some of them may, perhaps, be excused, but others are very licentious. A passion he entertained for a young Lady of *Venice*, threw him into disorders, for which the latter part of his life atoned. He had two sons by her, and a daughter named *Helen*, who was married to a *Venetian* Nobleman, and had every commendation, but legitimacy of birth. This attachment, and his love of study, caused him to reject the solicitations by which his family pressed him to marry, and the employments which were offered him by the Senate: but *Leo X.* being raised to the Papacy, he drew *Bembo* from his retirement, and made him Secretary of State. By this means he was immersed in business, to which he had hitherto been very averse; and as he acted on a principle of honour, his assiduity in the Office, of which the volumes of elegant letters he left behind him are a proof, impaired his health, and obliged him to have recourse to the air of *Padua*, where he became acquainted with our Countryman. After *Leo's* death he retired to *Venice*, and divided his time between books and the conversation of the learned, till the year I am speaking of; when *Paul III.* created him a Cardinal. This promotion, of which he had not the least thought, so greatly surpris'd him, that he was on the point of refusing it; but going to church the morning after he received the news, in order to ask direction in the step he was about to take; as he approached the altar, the Priest being come to those words of JESUS CHRIST to St *Peter*, which name *Bembo* bore, *Peter, follow me*; he took them as address'd to himself, and no longer oppos'd a dignity which he had not sought, and now interpreted



puted it was the will of heaven he should accept. SECT.  
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Soon after, writing to one of his friends, "I shall be ordained Priest, says he, in the Holidays of *Christmas*, and then prepare myself to celebrate the divine Mysteries: admire the change which the divine goodness has wrought in me."

Being now become a resident of *Rome*, "he was honoured by all persons of the highest distinction in that City; and particularly, says the Author of his Life, who was acquainted with them both, by REGINALD POLE, a person brought to us by Providence from so distant a country as *Britain*; or rather, if the expression be not too bold, descended to us from the regions above: and though no commendation can equal the subject when he is the theme, I shall take a more suitable opportunity of doing his merit all the justice I am able. At present, I shall only say, that it is doubtful, if that Island, by having the advantage of giving birth to such a person, who sets us a pattern of genuine Christian piety, has not compensated the great wrongs she has done to that cause. He lived with *Bembo*, who was now far advanced in years, in the greatest intimacy, and had the highest value for his many and excellent qualities, and chiefly for a candor and openness of temper, which gave him back the likeness of his own dispositions \*." The Pope con-

\* Cultus est *Romæ Bembo* cum à bonis plerisque omnibus *Contareno, Sadoletto, Cortesio, Morono* Cardinalibus amplissimis, hominibusque eruditissimis; tum verò præcipuè à REGINALDO POLO, homine, Dei immortalis, dubio procul, beneficio, ex ultimâ usque *Britanniâ* ad vos vecto, vel de cælo potius, si modo dictu fas est, lapso; cujus de laudibus, quanquam de tam præclaræ ac divinæ virtute nemo satis dignè unquam loquetur, alius mihi profectò dicendi locus dabitur. Hoc certè haud facile in præsentia dijudicare audeam; plusne eam insulam, multis vulneribus Christianæ Reipublicæ per summam impietatem infligendis,



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conferred the Bishoprick of *Eugubio*, on the new Cardinal; and afterwards that of *Bergamo*; both which he administered with an irreproachable life, and the discharge of such duties as those take on them, who besides the care of themselves engage in that of others. He survived his promotion to the Purple eight years; and died of a hurt he received on horseback, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. As he was drawing towards his end, some of his family, who were acquainted with the intimacy there had always been between him and CARDINAL POLE, informed the latter of the dangerous state his friend was in, and desired him to be present in his last minutes. He immediately complied with their request, and had the satisfaction, as he says, of finding him in those dispositions with which the spirit of Christianity soothes the terrors of the passage from time to eternity, and makes us die the death of the Righteous \*. He was buried at *Rome*, in the Quire of the Church of the *Minerva*; his son *Torquato* having composed that honourable inscription, which still remains. *Ferom Quirini*, a Noble *Venetian*, who had loved and honoured him through life, erected to his memory in *St Anthony's Church at Padua*, a marble Statue, in which, as the curious observe, all the exquisiteness of sculpture is exhausted: And, that none of those distinctions which light up the urn of the illustrious Dead, and wait on their

dis, nocuisse dicam; an quòd in illo solo talis tantusque vir ortus et procreatus sit, unde veræ planeque Christianæ pietatis vitæque exemplum peteremus, profuisse. Is igitur cum *Bembo* familiarissimè vixit; cùmque senis optimi multas magnasque animi dotes maximè fecit; tum vero apertum simplexque hominis ingenium suæ ipsius voluntati atque naturæ confirmile ac par, plurimùm semper adamavit. *Casa in Vitâ Bembi.*

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4. pag. 206.



# LIFE OF REGINALD POLE.

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their name beyond the grave, might be wanting to grace Bembo's merit, his Life has been written by the most correct genius of an age which was fruitful in great Originals †.

† Neque immerito commendati sunt, aut is qui pauca quidem scripsit, sed in scribendo omnium politissimus, maximeque limatus, idemque ab omnibus ineptiis remotissimus fuit, J. Casa. Muretus.



## S E C T. V.

*His Behaviour in the Government of Viterbo;  
and on his Mother's being put to death.*

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**T**HE CARDINAL, at his coming to Rome, was met by *Contareni*, and his other friends, and welcomed with every demonstration of joy and respect, by all persons of rank and merit in that City. Soon after the Pope appointed him a body-guard, as a security against any attempts on his life, by the Emissaries of the King of *England*; nor was it long before the event shewed the expediency of the precaution. During the short stay he made at *Verona*, he had signified to *Sadolet*, in the most obliging and affectionate terms, the sense he had of his obligations to him, whilst he was under his roof, and in his neighbourhood at *Carpentras*; and particularly, of the tears he shed at their parting. Being now arrived at *Rome*, he received an answer from this polite Prelate, which is penned with a goodness of disposition, and a dignity peculiar to the Writer. Having said all that friendship can feel, and elegance express on the merit of a great man, he recommends to him the cause of the Christians, who were debtors to the Jews, and very numerous, and greatly oppressed by the usury of their Creditors. He had made their case known to the CARDINAL whilst he resided in those parts, and found no difficulty to engage his good offices for their relief; as the Court of *Rome*, which was to interpose in the affair, seems not to have applied so speedy and efficacious a remedy, as the



equity of the case, and the greatness of the evil called for, and *Sadolet* desired. The CARDINAL being on the spot, where the grievance was to be redressed, let his friend know, he hoped his Agents at *Rome* had informed him, that proper orders had been given to ease his Diocesans of the extortion they laboured under, and repress for the future the insatiable avarice of their Oppressors \*."

The opinion of his parts and credit, and his readiness to exert them in the service of his friends and the public, afforded him, soon after the time I am speaking of, an opportunity of deserving well of one, who seems to have held the highest rank in his esteem; and in a cause, which, of all others, he had most at heart: I mean, the checking the increase of Vice and Error, and reclaiming those who were engaged in either. The Pope had appointed *Contareni* his Legate at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, which was to be promiscuously composed of Catholics and *Lutherans*, in order to put an end to the religious dissensions, which every day spread wider in *Germany*, and threatened the Empire with the most fatal consequences. Though the Legate's character for wisdom, temper and learning, was inferior to none of the age in which he lived, and his years gave him a great superiority over CARDINAL POLE, yet he referred all the steps he took in this nice negotiation to his advice; and, in the many letters on this head, which are come down to us, opens himself to him in as full and unreserved a manner, as if he had been accountable for his conduct to no one else. I shall extract from them what may contribute to make our Countryman known with greater distinction, the rest being foreign to the purpose of this History.

Y 2 *Contareni*,

Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 8. et pag. 69.



*Contareni*, on his arrival at *Ratisbon*, was received by the Emperor, and those who composed the Assembly, with great honours; but he found there none of the Princes of the Empire. They proceeded so slowly in this important concern, that, two months after, the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, were the only persons of that rank who came: the others, that they might cause no further delay to his Imperial Majesty, in the measures he should think expedient on that occasion, sent their Ambassadors. On this, the Diet was opened by a solemn Mass: and one of the Court having spoken briefly in the Emperor's name, his Majesty's intentions were notified in writing to the following purpose. The Assembly was informed of whatever he had done, since their last meeting at the same place: That the motive of his present journey was to restore that tranquillity to *Germany*, which the differences in Religion had disturbed; and to provide against a *Turkish* invasion, which there were but too just reasons to apprehend. He desired the Princes to deliberate on both these Articles, and to let him know their resolution: he seemed willing that the conferences on Religion should continue, but be carried on by fewer persons, and the result of them be notified to the States of the Empire, to his Majesty, and to the Legate, that they might determine what was to be done. *Contareni* finishes what regards the public affairs, by intreating his friend to recommend some of his domestic concerns to the Pope; and, among others, the advancing him two months appointments, as his private fortune was by no means equal to the charge of the Embassy. The CARDINAL, in his reply, acquaints the Legate, "he had obtained every thing he desired him to ask of his Holiness; but informs him also, that his own stay in

Rome



Rome was not only become troublesome, but unsafe, as the City swarmed with Soldiers, on account of *Ascanio Columna's* having taken up arms against the Pope; and there were several *English* in town, whose looks did not speak in their favour, and whose appearance at that juncture was liable to suspicion." Yet, notwithstanding any consideration which might touch himself, he did not set out till he had done his friend all the service he could; and as for what might hereafter occur, the Legate had too many attached to his interests, to make his stay any longer necessary. The letter is dated from *Capranica*, where he was retired; which is a small town in the province of the Patrimony, in a very agreeable situation, between the Lakes of *Braciano* and *Ronciglione*. He observes, at the bottom of the letter, that this place had been mentioned by *Petrarch*, under another name; and though the variation be very immaterial, he seems to remark it with pleasure, as it reminded him of the elegant Writer who made use of it.

22d April,

1541.

Locus Capranum.

The CARDINAL had advised *Contareni* to reduce all the Articles, on which the Catholic and *Lutheran* Divines were at variance, to the sole question of Justification; as the chief errors of the latter were owing to this point not being rightly understood; and as the practical inferences with which their Writers were but too justly charged, and which were so injurious to the sanctity and goodness of God, and the morals of mankind, were no more than the necessary consequences of such tenets. The Legate lets him know he had paid this deference to his opinion; and having given him an account of what had been agreed by both parties on this capital Controversy, desires him to keep it secret. He assigns no reason for this request: but the CARDI-

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## THE HISTORY OF THE

NAL, in his answer, tells him, he very well saw what his motive was; and was sorry the condition of the times laid him under this hard necessity: That the debate in agitation was of the nature of those, of which the divine Author of our Religion says, "what is whispered to you in the ear, proclaim on the house-top;" but that he should behave as he directed him.

The reason of the Legate's desire seems to have been the method he had taken to remove, as much as was consistent with the integrity of the Christian doctrine, all the prejudices which had been conceived against this point of it: and had therefore expressed himself on the subject of Justification, and the several tenets which are connected with it, in a different manner from some Writers of great note. He himself makes no difficulty in owning, that he dissented from *St Austin*, in his opinion of Predestination; in which he took no greater liberty than *Sadolet*, who declares, that on the same subjects of Grace and Free-will, he rather leaned to what the *Greek Fathers*, *St Chrysostome*, *St Basil*, and *Theophilactus*, and *St Ambrose* amongst the *Latin*, than to what *St Austin* had delivered \*. The Catholic Church having never censured this difference of opinions; not only private Doctors, but whole Schools have thought themselves at large to explain the agreement of Predestination with the freedom of human

\* Sunt enim in eo ipso, de quo loquimur, doctissimo nimirum sanctissimoque Doctore, prorsus manifesta; qui in illam extremam et remotissimam sententiam se contulit, odio Hæreticorum, et contentione disputandi, ut ego quidem arbitror, magis quam consideratâ et quietâ ratiocinatione ad ductus. Nec tamen si non consentio cum *Augustino*, ideo ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ dissentio: quæ tribus tantum *Pelagii* capitibus improbat, cætera libera ingeniis et disputationibus reliquit. *Sad. ad Contar. lib. 9. Epist. pag. 338. edit. Lugd.*



man choice, and God's gratuitous election with the necessity of good works. Yet, on so slender an encouragement, some *Lutheran* Writers have vainly flattered themselves, that *Contareni* was an abettor of their principles; and that our Countryman, who every where professes an entire acquiescence in his doctrine, was a convert to the same system; though it could not be more openly attacked than by what each of these great men has delivered on this head. The first lays it down as a truth not to be contested, that the Reprobate are cast off only for actual faults which they commit by resisting the gracious overtures of the divine mercy; and that it depends on the free determination of our will to overcome this reluctance: That, though our Predestination is to be attributed to God, whose Grace prevents all efforts on our part, yet it supposes our concurrence. He answers the trite and impious objection, "If I am of the number of the Predestinated, I shall be saved, let my life be ever so irregular; if, on the contrary, I am doomed to Reprobation, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I shall be damned:" by shewing how weak this way of reasoning would be with respect to all the casual events of life, which are no less foreseen by an all-knowing Being, than the alternative of our eternal lot. He afterwards proves that Predestination and Reprobation are not the necessary cause either of our being saved or damned; and though God has known, from all eternity, the different lot of each Individual, this knowledge neither destroys the contingency of events, nor the liberty of our will; and that no one can doubt, but if he lives well, he shall be saved; if ill, condemned. Thus as the errors of *Jansenius* are said to have found a Grave prepared for them in the Writings of *Sadolet*, it may be added, that *Luther's*



SECT. 2. *ther's* have met with the same fate in those of *Cont-*  
 V. *tareni* and *POLE*.

The Treatise which the former wrote on Jus-  
 tification, was printed with his other Works, at  
*Paris*, in the year 1571, and had been received  
 with the approbation of all intelligent persons;  
 when a *Dominican* Inquisitor, eighteen years after,  
 took it into his head to mangle, in a *Venice*  
 edition, by Interpolations, and, what he calls,  
 Amendments, the Work of a Man as much his  
 superior in learning as in modesty. In this he  
 has rendered the Public a service of the same  
 kind with that of a Monkish Writer, some cen-  
 turies before; who, fancying nothing was want-  
 ing to make the *Aeneid* a perfect Poem, but the  
 gracefulness of Rhimes, very obligingly substi-  
 tuted his own gingle to *Virgil's* harmony. CAR-  
 DINAL *POLE*, who was remarkably conversant in  
 all *Contareni's* Writings on this subject, speaks of  
 them in terms which must carry the greatest  
 weight, as being the judgment of so unexception-  
 able a master of the whole extent of the Contro-  
 versy, that he is supposed to have drawn up what  
 the Council of *Trent* has defined concerning it:  
 the draught being found, as shall be seen here-  
 after, among his other papers, and published at  
*Louvain*, by *Henry Pening*, one of the principal of-  
 ficers of his household; and who, to his long and  
 faithful services, added this further instance of  
 attachment to his Lord, by preserving the docu-  
 ment of one of those transactions, which reflect  
 the highest honour on his memory.

The Legate's behaviour at the Diet had been  
 censured, as if he had made larger concessions to  
 the *Lutherans* than was consistent with the faith  
 and discipline of the Church; and some severe  
 reflections had passed on him in the Consistory,  
 where the affair was debated. It had even been

in-



insinuated, that the *English* CARDINAL was retired to *Capranica*, to avoid having a share in the difficulties in which he foresaw his friend would soon be embroiled. On this report, he wrote to the Legate, that if the storm had not been lain almost as soon as it was raised, he would have returned to *Rome* with the utmost expedition: but as it was then over, he thought it more prudent not to stir it up again; especially as the Legate himself, when he came from the Diet, could not fail to give an accurate and satisfactory account of an affair, in which his reputation was so nearly concerned, and which took in the substance of his whole Commission. The event shewed he was not mistaken; for though these conferences ended as all such meetings ever have, where those who stand most in need of entering on a search of truth, are least disposed to it; yet on the Emperor's putting an end to the Diet, and *Contareni's* return to *Rome*, the Pope, instead of withdrawing the long and uninterrupted confidence he had placed in him, conferred on him the government of *Bologna*; and thus disappointed that ill-will, by which Envy seldom fails to mark out superior merit. He enjoyed this dignity but a short time, and died happy in the mutual and deserved esteem of CARDINAL POLE; and in such a discharge of the public station he was in, as, by making the people happy, makes the Governor truly great †.

28th July,  
1541.

1st Sept.

1542,

aged 59.

Whilst

† This excellent man has left the following Works, which are all written with equal judgment, elegance, and erudition: *De septem Ecclesiæ Sacramentis*; *De optimi Antistitis Officio*; *Scholia in Epistolas Divi Pauli*; *Confutatio Articulorum Lutheri*; *De Potestate Papæ*; *De Libero Arbitrio*; *De Animæ Immortalitate*.—This latter treatise was composed against *Pompanatus*, under whom he had studied, and who had the impiety to teach, that the Soul was, like the Body, mortal.

The



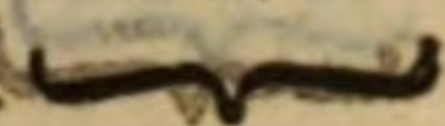
SECT.

V.

Whilst the CARDINAL received the instances of esteem which I have related, from one of the most illustrious members of the sacred College; the bravest Prince in *Europe*, and who, from the encouragement he gave to letters, was stiled the Father of them, treated him with a distinction, which does equal honour to both. *Francis I.* who became acquainted with him at the Conference of *Nice*, wrote to him in terms full of esteem and good will; and, from the opinion he had of his prudence, desired him to assist with his counsel the *French* Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*. He made moreover an offer of every proof, by which he could realise the sentiments he had of his merit; but added, That being sensible of the interest which his virtue gave him with a Monarch infinitely greater than himself, he intreated him to intercede with Him on his behalf. "The CARDINAL's answer was suited to this mark of the King's goodness; which, he says, was so much the more acceptable, as that Prince, to whom he was nearly allied in blood; and the Country, where he received his birth, not only looked on him as an Outlaw, but endeavoured to hinder others from shewing him that humanity, to which their own breasts were strangers. In this, says he, your Majesty bears a likeness of the goodness of that Being, who not only does not cast off those whom the world undeservedly rejects, but takes them under his special protection, and watches with an attentive and merciful Providence over their welfare. On this account, though I feel all the joy such a declaration should give me, yet I see

The contents of the foregoing Article are chiefly collected from the letters of CARDINAL POLE and Contareni to each other. Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. a pag. 11, usque ad pag. 11. and from Contareni Tractatus, five Epistola de Justificatione. *Ibid.* pag. 190.





I see no less reason to congratulate you, Sir, on a disposition to becoming your Royal state, than to thank the Almighty that it is exerted in my behalf. He concludes with a mention of the Congress at *Nice*, and the Conferences the King had there with the Pope, *Contareni*, and himself; and of the many and excellent qualities he had discovered in that Monarch; and which had impressed on his mind a love and veneration for his person, which he had ever since retained."

But if the hardships the CARDINAL here speaks of, and the disasters which had befallen his family; the sentence of death under which his mother then lay, and the slavery of his Country, had been of that kind of evils, which are alleviated by the punishment of the Author; this cordial drop was now administered by the slow but sure vengeance, which at length overtook him, who had been the instrument of them all. This was the execution of *Cromwell*, the King's chief Minister; which was attended with every aggravation that can fill up the measure of wretchedness; and make the Criminal feel the whole weight both of his guilt and punishment. From a birth as sordid as can debase even the dregs of the common people, he had been successively raised to the dignities of Master of the Rolls, Lord Privy-Seal, and High Chamberlain: had been created Baron *Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, and Knight of the Garter; and, though without any tincture of learning, was made the King's Vicar-General in Spirituals: a post hitherto unknown to the list of the great Officers of the Crown, but which gave him precedence before all the Nobility, and immediately after the Royal family. He had amassed an estate out of the spoils of the Religious houses, which would appear utterly incredible, did not our Records descend to each



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V.

each particular of that sacrilegious plunder which the King's wasteful temper heaped on him\*. And that his own mistaken forecast might complete his ruin, the very measure he took to secure his power, only served to hasten his downfall. His administration, from the beginning, had been hateful to the Commons, on every account which can make the exercise of that public station unpopular and odious; and the Nobles had their particular reasons of aversion, in seeing a Blacksmith's son set above them all. *Henry Bourchier*, the last Earl of *Essex* of that name, was killed by a fall from his horse, and though he only left a daughter, yet that noble family still subsisted in several collateral branches; and *John de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, in whose family the office of High Chamberlain had been many years hereditary, died in the same month; and *Cromwell* obtained both these honours, to the great disgust not only of the two interested families, and their alliances, but of the whole body of the Nobility, who deemed their honours vilified by being communicated to an Upstart. This general discontent reached the King's ears, and made him not unwilling to regain the people's affection, by giving up the object of their resentment. Two years before the period of his greatness, the forebodings of a guilty mind had caused him to mistrust it would not be durable; and to make the surest provision he could for his family and dependents: and in order to strengthen himself against the friends of the ancient Religion, particularly Bishop *Gardiner*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who began to gain the ascendant in the Council, he lately brought about a match between the King and *Anne of Cleves*. But the dislike *Henry* conceived for his new Bride made him break loose from all the restraints which

\* *Pat. 31 Henry VIII. pag. 5. Dugd. Baron. vol. 2. pag. 312.*



till then had retarded the Minister's fall; and overturned, in a single instant, that mighty Colossus, which undeserved favour had been ten years rearing at the cost which has been mentioned. The Duke of *Norfolk*, his sworn enemy, and whose Neice was already pitched on to succeed the *German Princess*, was ordered to seize him at the Council-board, and commit him to the Tower. A Bill of Attainder was drawn up against him\*, in which, Lord *Herbert* says, "he was charged with great and enormous crimes, and such as deserved the most capital punishment." The two Houses, when they passed the Bill, followed likewise the execrable example the Offender himself had set them, in the former Session, in the Attainders of the Countess of *Salisbury*, the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and others, and condemned him without any legal Trial, and unheard. The news of his imprisonment and approaching doom, was no sooner notified to the people, but the loudest acclamations testified the joy of all ranks. They had shewn the same sentiments ten years before, when, on his Patron *Wolsey's* disgrace, they unanimously demanded, as CARDINAL POLE attests, who was then in *London*, that he might atone for his misdemeanors on a gibbet; and now they comforted themselves with hopes of better times, when he was removed, to whom they imputed all their sufferings. *Cranmer* alone shewed a high esteem and concern for him; and, in a letter to the King, among other arguments by which he endeavoured to move his compassion, makes use of one which must appear very extraordinary when alleged by an Archbishop, "that *Cromwell* had ever loved his Majesty, as he, *Cranmer*, thought, no less than God." In a letter he wrote to the King, after his commitment, he

\* Parl. Rolls, 32 Henry VIII. Act. 60.



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V

28th July,  
1540.

falls into folly and extravagance\*; and denies a guilt†, with which the whole tenor of his administration was stained; he has recourse to abject flattery‡, and betrays a cowardly fear of death§. Being come to the place of Execution, he said, “he did not intend, as some might imagine, to say any thing in his own justification; and, if he did, he should be a very Wretch: and he thanked God for the atonement he was about to make for his sins.” Though, in his letter to the King, he had acquitted himself of any wrong or injustice, yet here, “he owned he had lived a sinner ever since he came to the use of reason; and, since he was in power, had offended his Prince. He desired the People to join with him in begging mercy of God, and called on each of the three divine Persons to pardon him. He asked the Spectators to bear witness that he died in the Catholic Faith, not doubting of any Article, nor of any Sacrament:” and though it had been notorious, that he favoured all the Novelties of the times, and was himself void of every sentiment of Religion, yet he treats all this as falshood and slander.

He  
\* If it were in my power to make your Majesty ever young and prosperous (as it is in God's) God knowyth, I wolde. Yf it had bene, or were in my power to make you so riche, as ye myght enriche alle men, God helpe me, as I wolde do it: If it had bene, or were in my power to make your Majesty so puyssant, as all the worlde sholde be compelled to obey you, Christ knowyth I wolde.

† But that I have don any injustice or wrong wylfully, I trust God shal bare me wytnefs, and the world not be able to accuse me justly.

‡ Such has bene your most grave and godly counsayle to me at sundry times.

§ Written with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highnes's most heavy and most miserable prisoner and poor slave T. C. most gracious Prince. I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy — Cot. Lib. *Titus*, b. 1. Ditto *Otho*, c. 10. *Burnet's Collection of Records to the Hist of the Reform.* *Dugd. Baron.* vol. 2. page 372, 373.



He confessed, however, that, as God's holy Spirit S e c t.  
V  
instructs us in truth, so the Devil is at hand to seduce us; and that he had been seduced; and intreats the people, a second time, to bear witness that he died in the Catholic Faith of the holy Church \* 1240. d185

This was the end of one of the worst of men, and most pernicious Ministers that ever directed the Council of a Tyrant, or oppressed a Nation. His parts and industry, which were both very great, only added to the public calamity, as they were ever exerted to the most unwarrantable purposes, except in the single instance of his Patron *Wolsey's* defence. Notwithstanding all the favour which learning met with in his youthful years, he had no relish for it; and, being grown up, he rambled abroad, and was a common Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon's* army, at the sacking of *Rome*, and there initiated himself, by a suitable prelude, to that scene of rapine, sacrilege, and bloodshed, which he was afterwards to exhibit in his own country. Whilst he was in foreign parts, he became acquainted with their manners and language; and *Machiavel's* works appearing about this time, and in the country where he then was, he not only tasted the cup, which contained the poison, but drank it off to the dregs; and on REGINALD POLE's return to *England* from the University of *Padua*, he attempted, as has been seen elsewhere, to make him relish the deadly draught. His impiety went beyond what the See Sect.  
l. p. 47.  
*Italian* Politician had dared to avow; and, on Archbishop *Warham's* resistance to some Court measures, he expressed himself in a manner too shocking to be repeated to a Christian ear †. To all

\* *Hall's Chron.* edit. 1550, in *Henry VIII.* fol. 242. *J. Fox,* p. 1190.

† *Hist. M. S.* cited by *Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce*, t. 1. pag. 243.



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12th Apr.

all the complicated injustice and cruelty, which attended the dissolution of Religious Houses, of which he was the adviser, he added insult and mockery, and employed means to extort the surrender of several, more inhuman and iniquitous than the seizure itself\*. Notwithstanding the immense wealth with which this change of property had increased the Revenue, and the promises made to the people, that they should be eased of all future taxes, the Exchequer was still exhausted, and the Minister still found pretexts to load the nation with heavier charges than it had yet felt: and in a Parliament held a few months before he was beheaded, besides a large subsidy raised on the Clergy, he obtained, though not without great reluctance, one tenth and four fifteenths of all the Laity's goods in the Kingdom. But that there might be no point of public view in which he could be considered any otherwise than as an object of universal hatred, in which, Lord *Herbert* says, he was held, and which attended him to the Scaffold, nothing was undertaken or thought on, to the emolument and honour of *England*, during his whole Administration; and the transactions of those ten years amount to no more than a Tale of Woe, which blends the Monarch's and the Minister's crimes with the Nation's misery†.

The first account of *Cromwell's* death, brought likewise the news that, in his last moments, he had given all the signs of a sincere repentance; and the CARDINAL signified to one of his friends the joy he had felt at this information. Some time after,

\* Sir *W. Dugdale's* Antiq. Warw. edit. 1730, vol. 2. page 1112, &c. *Fuller's* Ch. Hist. b. 6. pag. 318, edit. 1655. Col. Eccl. Hist. vol. 2. pag. 155, &c.

† Lord *Herbert's* Life of *Henry VIII.* edit. 1649. page 455, 456, 457, and 461, 462.



after, having seen persons who were present at the execution, and had been witnesses of his behaviour, and heard the Criminal's last words; he let his friend know, this second intelligence had deprived him of all the satisfaction which the former had given him; and was of too equivocal a nature to ground any confidence of a change of heart: that, this being the case, he would suspend any further thought concerning him, and leave his lot to the decision of an all-knowing Judge, to whom those secrets are open which are hid from men\*.

The *English* CARDINAL had now given such instances of his integrity and abilities, as drew on him the attention of the Court of *Rome*, and that approbation, which is but too often the late and backward acknowledgment of foreign merit. The interests of the holy See, were concerned in making use of his prudence and experience in public affairs: and her reputation, in distinguishing a person who had suffered so much for his attachment to that cause, of which she is, by way of excellence, the Protector. These considerations determined *Paul* III. to confer on him, without any solicitation on his part, one of the most honourable Posts in the Papal dominions, as a public mark of the CARDINAL's worth, and his own sense of it. This choice met with the greater approbation, as it was not only a recompense of past services, but gave him an opportunity of displaying his talents in a different character from any he had hitherto appeared in.

The Ecclesiastical State is very considerable, both as to extent and situation. It lies in the heart of *Italy*, and is bounded, on the North, by the *Venetian* Dominions and the *Adriatic* Sea; on the East, by the Kingdom of *Naples*; by the

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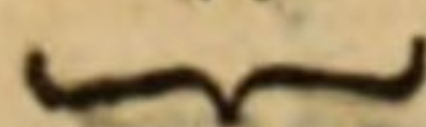
Mediterr-

\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 3. pag. 62.



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*Mediterranean*, on the South, and, on the West, by the Dukedoms of *Florence* and *Modena*. The length from North to South, is about 240 miles; and the greatest breadth, which is between *Ancona* and *Civita-Vecchia*, about 120. Besides these dominions, the Dukedom of *Benevento*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Principality of *Avignon*, in *Provence*, make a part of the Papal possessions. The two Seas which lie on each side of the Ecclesiastical State, would give it great advantages with respect to commerce, did the industry of the Inhabitants bear any proportion to the convenience of their situation; and the slightest knowledge of ancient history informs every Reader, how fruitful and plenteous this Country formerly was, and still might be, was that spirit revived, without which the soil is fertile and commercial Seas roll in vain. Some spots still bear witness to the bounty of Nature, and the husbandry of the People; and nothing can be more delightful, or better cultivated than the Country about *Senigalia*, *Fano*, and *Pesaro*, on the coast of the *Adriatic*. The same, with respect to culture, is the case of a great part of the territory of *Bologna*.

This State is divided into several Departments, which have Governors appointed by the Pope, with the quality of Legate, or of a rank next to that dignity. The chief of these Departments are, that of *Rome*, which is under the Pope's immediate jurisdiction; the Province of the *Patrimony*, *Sabina*, *Ombria*, or the Dukedom of *Orvieto*; the Marquisate of *Ancona*, the Dukedom of *Urbino*, the greater part of *Romagna*, properly so called, which comprehends *Bologna* and its appurtenances, with the Dukedom of *Ferrara*.

Amongst these Governments, that of the *Province of the Patrimony* is the most honourable, as it



it lies in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and makes a valuable part of the Papal dominions. It comprises the ancient *Hetruria*; and, in the infancy of *Rome*, was the seat of several warlike and populous nations, the *Volsinii*, *Tarquini*, *Falerii*, *Veientes*, *Cerites*, and others. These, first, contended with that growing State, and then, being subdued and incorporated in her, made a part of her strength. But, long before the end of the Republic, no more remained of these ancient Kingdoms, than is now to be found of the *Trinobantes*, *Iceni*, and the other original Inhabitants of *Britain*; and what a Roman Historian says of one of the Royal Cities, that held out a ten years siege against the whole strength of *Rome*, may serve as an Epitaph to them all: "So considerable were the *Veientes* at that time; at present who remembers there ever was such a people? what remains, what footsteps even of their existence? History scarcely gains credit when she informs us there was such a nation\*." The Conquerors have undergone the same Revolution; and in this extensive Province, which was so considerable a part of the *Roman* territory, there are almost as few traces of the Victors as the Vanquished.

This fair Domain, in its present Condition, was bequeathed to the holy See by *Mathildis*, Countess of *Tuscany*, in the year 1115, and contains several considerable states, besides other divisions of less note; to which the Dukedom of *Castro* has been since added. It is bounded, on the North, by *Ombria*; and by the river *Tiber*, on the East; on the West, by the South part of *Tuscany*; and on the South, by that part of the *Mediterranean*, which is called the *Tuscan* Sea.

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Its

\* Hoc tunc *Veientes* fuere: nunc fuisse quis meminit? quæ reliquæ? quodve vestigium? laborât annalium fides, ut *Veios* fuisse credamus. *Florus*, l. 1. c. 12.



Its greatest extent from North to South is about fifty common *Italian* miles, and something less from East to West.

The most important places are *Civita-Vecchia*, formerly called *Centum Cella*, where the Pope's Gallies are stationed; *Corneto*, which stands on an eminence on the banks of the *Marta*, and near the ruins of *Gravica*, and *Tarquinia*. *Tuscalenna*, which is on the borders of the same River, and has gone by the different names of *Salumbrona*, *Tuscia*, and *Tuscana*; and, though it gave its name to all the adjacent Country, it now retains little more of its once flourishing state, than what foorths beauty in decay, the remembrance of former power. *Orti* stands on the *Tiber*, where the *Nar* falls into that river, and has the title of a Bishoprick, which is united to that of *Civita-Castellana*. The rivulet *Pozzolo* runs by *Nepi*, mentioned by *Livy* by the name of *Nepate*, and is, likewise, a titular Episcopal See, united to that of *Sutri*. The Dukedom of *Castro*, which formerly belonged to the Dukes of *Parma*, has been in the possession of the Popes since the year 1649. It was formerly a Bishoprick, but the Inhabitants having murdered their Prelate, *Innocent X.* caused the City to be rased, and transferred the See to *Aqua Pendente*. The territory of *Orvieto*, which the *Romans* called *Ager Urbeveticus*, takes in several towns, and among others, that from which the adjoining country derives its appellation; *Aqua Pendente* and *Bagnarea*, which was the ancient *Balneoregium*, and *Capranica*; of which I have had occasion to speak elsewhere. *Ronciglione* also gives its name to a small state; and the Dukedom of *Bracciano* is in the middle of this Department. *Viterbo*, the chief City of the Province of the Patrimony, and the usual seat of the Governor, lies about forty *Italian* miles



miles north-west of *Rome*. It is called in Latin *Viterbium*, and sometimes *Tetrapolis*; and the Inhabitants, the *Quaterni Populi*, being one of the four towns which were associated under the name of *Viterbo*, by *Desiderius*, the last King of *Lombardy*. The Episcopal See was transferred hither from *Ferrento*, and is immediately subject to the Pope. The monuments of several Popes, many stately buildings, with public fountains, and other works, both for convenience and magnificence, contribute to make *Viterbo* one of the most considerable cities of the Ecclesiastical State.

The Pope conferred on CARDINAL POLE this Government, with those significations of goodwill which enhance the price of a benefaction. He let him know, that his approved abilities made him, the Pope, desirous he should not be at too great a distance from his person: That *Viterbo*, the place of his future residence, was within an easy day's journey of *Rome*; and, on a short warning, he might have his advice on any emergency: That in the choice of the post in which he had placed him, among other considerations, he had consulted the CARDINAL's little relish for the manner of life he was obliged to lead at *Rome*; and therefore had provided him with a situation, in which he might be beneficial to others, without depriving himself of the advantages of privacy and retirement. To this gracious declaration of the Pontiff, he returned his thanks by the following letter.

“Your Holiness, by conferring on me the Government of the Province of the *Patrimony*, has exempted me from the necessity of seeking from foreign Princes, a subsistence suitable to my birth, after having been deprived of my Country, and all that is dear to me, by Him in whose dominions I was born. From this disagreeable dependence,



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pendence, which is the hard lot of many, your singular goodness has set me free; and taken me under the protection of his Vicegerent, in whose cause I have forfeited whatever I was otherwise intitled to. Though I propose very soon to make your Holiness my best acknowledgments in person; the greatness of the favour, and the seasonable circumstances in which I receive it, being at a time when I stand most in need of such a maintenance, does not allow me to withhold, though for so short a space, the sense I have of the obligation, and the gratitude I feel for my Benefactor. I shall use no effort to make my expressions, on this occasion, come up to my sentiments; and desire your Holiness to be assured, that whatever I could say would fall short of them. All I would signify is, that my future life shall attest the sincerity with which I now own how much I am indebted to your paternal care; from whose favour, next to the divine Goodness, I have received the honours and emoluments I enjoy. Nothing could be more desirable to me, than to employ them to the honour and service of your Holiness, and your illustrious family, to which I belong by so many ties. May a good Providence long preserve you to us, and to the whole Christian Commonwealth\*.”

He had no sooner entered on this high office, but he appeared in a Character which was no longer the effect of instructions received from others, but the genuine result of his own dispositions. This opportunity had hitherto been wanting in his Embassies, where his own lights could go no further than they agreed with the orders he was to execute: and even these orders had been so counter-acted by the Courts to which he was sent

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 4. pag. 32.



sent on two very intricate negotiations, as to give very little opening to his abilities. The station he was now placed in set him at large from all such control, and shewed his mind in its native liberty. We have only to regret, that his administration is not come down to us in such a detail, as could not have failed to be honourable to his memory, and serviceable to all in power; being a plan not drawn from speculation, but recommended by action and real life. The few sketches indeed which have been preserved, are sufficient to enable us to trace the justness and excellence of the whole piece, whose outlines are so noble and regular.

His first care, as LEGATE of the holy See, was to imbue the people committed to his charge with the spirit of Christianity; which, in that age, was rare even in the neighbourhood of the Capital of the Christian World. This he effected by the example of a blameless life, which was not only out of the reach of reproach, but a pattern of every virtue becoming a Prince of the Catholic Church, and the Governor of a large Province. His Household was chosen from a similitude of characters with his own. The chief persons who composed it were, *Lewis Priuli*, a Nobleman of *Venice*, in whose commendation our equitable Countrymen has been as liberal as those of his own communion †; *Becatelli*, his principal Secretary; *Parpalia*, Abbé of *St Salute*; *Ormeneto*, and others: all persons of great distinction, who had followed his fortunes from no other motive than their attachment to his person, and admiration of his Virtue. They were not only easy, but at large with respect to circumstances, and yet they preferred the society of a Foreigner, whose head was proscribed; to

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† Biogr. Brit. Article POLE, ( y y y ).



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independence, and all the advantages they would have enjoyed in their respective countries. Was their merit unknown to us by any other particulars, this alone would be sufficient to annex a very extraordinary idea to it. The many valuable qualities of *Henry Pening*, his Chamberlain and Receiver General, intitle him to a place in the forementioned list.

The first care of the new Governor was, as I have said, to reform the manners of the people subject to his authority; and the disorders of the times called for an active and enlightened zeal. Error, no less than immorality, was to be checked; and the spirit of irreligious giddiness had not only seized the North, but had found admittance under the southern Climes: and he was under a necessity of being particularly watchful to apply suitable remedies to Vice, and prevent any deviation from Truth, or recal those to it who were gone astray. His vigilance succeeded in the former; and the methods he made use of to compass the latter, were gentleness and persuasion. I shall exemplify this in one instance, which will make all others unnecessary. *Flaminius* had imbibed at *Naples* the tenets of *Valdes*, with whom he had contracted a dangerous intimacy; and was returned to *Rome*, a profelyte to his impious system. The LEGATE, who had formerly lived with him in great familiarity, and was acquainted with his many excellent qualities, was sensibly affected with his friend's misfortune, and desirous to retrieve it. Wherefore, without taking any notice of what had happened, he invited him to pass some time at *Viterbo*, where he then was, and conversing with him sometimes on polite literature, in which *Flaminius* excelled; and at others on Religious matters, he disposed him gradually to return to the Catholic Doctrine,





time, to which he ever after stedfastly adhered. The LEGATE, in whose house, ten years after, he ended his life, in a very Christian manner, was so pleased with a Convert of such importance, that he used to say, besides being instrumental to his friend's happiness, he had rendered a singular service to the cause of Truth, by reclaiming *Flaminius*, who exerted a very fine genius in honour of it, and wrote with equal elegance in *Italian* and *Latin* \*.

His intimate friend *Sadolet*, Bishop of *Carpen-  
tras*, proceeded on the same principles, and wrote about this time the following letter to *Alexander Farnese*, the first person of the Court of *Rome*. "I received a few days ago, with that respect which is due to all orders of the holy See, a commission from the Pope, which authorises me to cause the *Lutherans* to be sought after and punished. It gives me singular satisfaction that his Holiness should not think me unworthy to be intrusted with such an affair; and I intreat your Excellence to signify my gratitude to him for this mark of his esteem. As to the Commission itself, I shall, if necessity obliges me, put it in execution; but I will use my best endeavours to prevent all such necessity. The arguments I choose to make use of, to convince the minds of those who err, though in appearance, and in the opinion of a common observer, they may seem to be less vigorous than the case requires, are in reality far more efficacious. For it is not a countenance armed with terror, nor racks and gibbets, but the exposition of Truth itself, and, above all other methods, the lenity of a Christian Spirit, which draws from misguided men that confession of error, in which the heart has a greater share than the tongue †."

Could

\* *Vita Poli.*

† *Sad. Epist. lib. 12. pag. 442.*



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Pessimo  
exemplo.

Could sentiments so equitable stand in need of other arguments or other authority to recommend them, besides what has been alledged from these two eminent personages; *Sulpicius Severus*, one of the greatest ornaments of the fourth century, might be cited; who blames the Bishops *Idacius* and *Ithacius* for applying to secular Judges for the banishment of the *Priscillianists*, and represents the prosecution they carried on at the Emperor's Court as a shameful proceeding. The indignation they raised against themselves was still greater, when they followed them to *Treves*, in quality of Accusers. St *Martin*, whose beloved Disciple *Severus* had been, pressed *Ithacius* to desist from carrying on the cause against them, and intreated the Emperor to spare their lives. But when, notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were put to death, neither he nor St *Ambrose* would have any farther communication with the Prosecutors, or the Bishops who continued in their communion, though they were favoured by the Emperor; and the former reproached himself as long as he lived, for having afterwards casually communicated with that party, though it was to save the lives of some innocent persons of quality; on which occasion, being asked to give consent to their proceedings, he openly refused it †. I shall add one authority more, and then take leave of a subject, which I am sorry should have ever stood in need of any proof but its own self-evidence. The followers of *Donatus*, and particularly that branch of them which were called *Circumcellions*, practised every kind of cruelty on the Catholics; yet St *Austin*, writing to the Proconsul of *Africa*, his particular friend, who was commissioned to put the Imperial laws in execution against them, delivers himself in the following

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† *Sulp. Sev. Hist. lib. 2.*



lowing words. "When you judge causes, in which the Church is concerned, how atrocious soever the injuries she has suffered may be, we intreat you, Sir, to forget on this occasion, that you have power of life and death; and do not reject a petition on their behalf, whose amendment we daily ask of God. The resolution of overcoming evil by good, is what we should never depart from; and you are to remember, that none but Ecclesiastics bring before you any thing which concerns the Church: infomuch, that if you punish the guilty with death, you deprive us of the liberty of bringing our grievances to your tribunal; and leave us to still greater outrages, as our enemies will see us in the necessity of letting them take away our lives, rather than cause them to forfeit theirs." He concludes his letter with these remarkable words: "However great an Evil the error is which we wish them to abjure, and however desirable the Truth we would have them embrace; yet it is a troublesome, not a profitable task, to employ constraint rather than instruction \*."

The LEGATE's vigilance in his Government, and his lenity in particular, was so universally acknowledged, that some years after, when he was about being raised to the Papacy, and those who were jealous of his merit objected to him, that during his whole administration he had caused only two persons to be put to death, he made no other answer, than that this mildness had not proceeded from indolence; and that he had reason to thank Providence for not having been under a necessity of holding another conduct: That the change in the manners of the People, and the dispositions in which he left them, so different from those he had found them in, were the only cer-

\* Epist. 100, alias 127.



certificates he had any need to produce in his own justification †.

Though He made what regarded the Worship of the supreme Being, both with respect to Faith and Practice, the primary object of his administration, which *Aristotle* has lain down as a principle in Politics, should be the chief care of every Ruler; yet his sollicitude extended to every district of his charge; particularly to the distribution of Justice, and a caution that the lower and necessitous class of the people were not oppressed by their superiors. His forecast went still further, and he did what depended on him to give a lazy and luxurious race of men a relish for industry. It is customary for the Court of *Rome* to assign each town of the Ecclesiastical State to the patronage of some Cardinal; and, in consequence of this usage, the LEGATE was appointed Patron of *Bagnarea*, in the Province of the *Patrimony*, and called by the *Romans*, *Balneoregium*; or, as some think, *Novempagi*, by *Pliny*. He lent the inhabitants, whom he found remarkably averse to labour, a considerable sum of money, that they might set up a woollen manufacture, and betake themselves to something beyond basking in the Sun, and warbling to a guitar\*.

His taste for Literature was too early and deeply impressed, not to make the encouragement of it a favourite department of his care. It was the employment of his hours of leisure and retirement. The *Viterbo* Society, as it was termed, which he established and honoured by being a Member of it, was composed of some of the finest Geniuses, and most valuable men of that age; nor were persons of the other Sex, whose minds were superior to scandal and trifle, excluded

† *Vita R. Poli*, fol. 19. à tergo.

\* *Poli Vita*.



cluded from the advantages of this assembly \*. *Victoria*, Marchioness of *Pescara*, was one of those Women, whose price is far above Rubies; and her connections with REGINALD POLE were too particular not to have her mentioned with honour in the History of his Life. She was daughter to *Fabrizius Colonna*, and wife to *Francis Avalos*, Marquis of *Pescara*. After the battle of *Pavia*, which was won by her husband's valour, she dissuaded him from accepting the offer of the crown of *Naples*; which the Pope and Princes of *Italy* made him, as inconsistent with his honour. She excelled in polite learning; and wrote a very fine *Latin* Poem, in which her own name and her husband's praises are consigned to all posterity. The subject of *Vida's* third Eclogue, which is inscribed *Nicé*, is *D'Avalo's* funeral, and does equal honour to the Hero, and to Her who is introduced mourning his death. Though solicited by some of the greatest Princes of *Italy*, she would never admit any proposals of a second marriage; and having shewn a firmness of soul not to be dazzled with the lustre of a Diadem, she at length retired from the world, and ended her days in a Monastery †. This Lady bequeathed to the LEGATE ten thousand crowns, which he refused to accept; and ordered the whole of a Legacy so considerable, especially in those times, to be added to the fortune of the Marchioness's Neice, when she married *Don Garcia of Toledo*. A rare example of generosity; and which, says the *Italian* Author of his Life, will have few Imitators ‡.

These are the chief of the few particulars, which, as I have said, are come down to us, of the

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 59, et seq.

† *Jovius*, in *Vitâ March. Pesc. Guichardini, Thuanus.*

‡ *Vita Poli.*



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the LEGATE's administration. What his sentiments were in general of the nature and duty of such a charge, may be gathered from what he wrote to his friend *Contareni*, on his being appointed, much about the same time, Governor of *Bologna*. "I must return you, my Lord, my best thanks for giving me the pleasure of hearing so often from you, notwithstanding the multiplicity of your occupations. I may with truth affirm, that the tranquillity we here enjoy, as desirable as it is, does not afford us greater satisfaction than the account you sent us of a more busy Scene, in which you are engaged. Indeed, my Lord, this relation does no more than confirm the opinion I ever had of the strength of your parts, which can buoy up where others are depressed and lost. But my satisfaction was complete, when I understood from the concurrent testimony of the Public, that the expectation I had conceived of you, however great, has been surpassed by a mind superior to that weariness and satiety, which business is apt to bring with it, and which causes you to find repose in easing others of their complaints and hardships. In this, my Lord, I see the image of a truly Christian Magistrate, who, without regard to his own convenience, procures the safety and advantage of those committed to him. This can only be performed by such as have learned from their divine Master to shew their affection to Him, by the love and care they bestow on mankind \*."

In another letter to the same great personage, the subject led him into the following short account of himself: "The contentment I find, says he, in my present station, is above any thing I could

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 52, among the *Italian* letters.



could have promised myself; and though the post I am in brings with it a certain necessary occupation, yet this is so far from breaking into my plan of life, that it improves and recommends it. I need not say any thing of the alacrity I ought to feel in the administration of Justice, and the assistance I am willing to hope all those find who stand in need of it. These employments do not interrupt my morning hours, which I dedicate to my studies, and am careful to lay them out to the best advantage. All the business of the Government is transacted in the afternoon; unless something extraordinary requires immediate dispatch: but these incidents are rare; and, when they happen, do not take up above an hour or two †."

It should not be forgotten, that the Governor, though a CARDINAL, was not yet in holy Orders, and had only received the Tonsure, by which those are initiated who design themselves for the Clergy. Yet his administration gained him so general an esteem, that a few years after he was chosen to the highest and most important post, in which the Christian Hierarchy can place merit, being, as the sequel of this History will shew, appointed one of the three Legates who opened the General Council of *Trent*, and presided at it.

Soon after he had taken possession of his Government, a youth of the first quality, and his near Kinsman, had left *England*, to avoid the difficulties the King laid him under on the score of Religion. The LEGATE, to whom he made application, not judging it proper either that he should come to *Rome*, or be with him at *Viterbo*, desired the Cardinal of *Mantua*, *Hercules Gonzaga*, to receive him into his household, and give him some

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. among the *Italian* letters, pag. 41.



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some employment in it. But that polite Prince, though he readily complied with the first part of the request, had too great a respect for the Royal blood of *England*, to make use of any one about his person who descended from it. The young man had not been long his guest, before he discovered that his manners were by no means answerable to the zeal he had testified for his Religion: and the LEGATE, on the first notice of this disagreeable incident, would have removed him to a private house of a friend of his at *Padua*; but the Cardinal would still keep him in his family, till the reasons which hindered the LEGATE from having him at *Viterbo*, had ceased. On this he thanked his noble friend, by a very elegant letter, for a civility which had been owing to a regard for himself; and testified to him his regret of its not having been conferred on one more deserving. --- We have no further light on this matter; nor is the person's name once mentioned, or any thing said by which a conjecture may be made who he was\*.

The Pope being to go to *Civita Vecchia* in the second year of the LEGATE's government, as that place is in the Province of the *Patrimony*, his post required that he should wait on him at his arrival. He had now been absent from *Rome* a considerable time; which, he says, heightened the pleasure he received from the sight of a Sovereign, to whom he had such signal obligations; and who, on his part, was no less pleased to meet the LEGATE. He was immediately admitted to an Audience; and had a long conference with the Pope on the present crisis of the Christian World, and the calamities with which it was threatened. Something likewise was brought in of

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 3. among the *Italian* letters, pag. 71.



of the affairs of *England*, and of what might seem to give some prospect of happier days. The praises of *Contareni*'s morals, judgment and learning, were not forgotten; and the Pope entered on the particulars, which at first gained him his good-will, and caused him to adopt him into the sacred College. The LEGATE signifies, that his esteem for the Cardinal of the holy Cross, *Marcellus Cervini*, who came to *Civita Vecchia* with the Court, and was afterwards Pope, increased in proportion as he became acquainted with him; because, to use his own expression, in which he lets us see a truly *English* sentiment, he discovered in him those radical qualities which make an honest man. He speaks with the highest commendation of the parts of *Alexander Farnese*, who likewise accompanied the Pope; and sends up the most ardent wishes, that this young Prince may use proper care to be acquainted with that Source of Good, from which alone all happiness is derived †.-- His stay at *Civita Vecchia* was short, and he returned to *Viterbo* on the Pope's setting out for *Rome*.

7th Feb.  
1542.

The news of the LEGATE's promotion soon reached the King of *England*; and that restless curiosity which pries into the characters of those who are obnoxious to us, informed him, almost at the same time, that his Kinsman's administration was altogether unlike that on which he proceeded; and wanted nothing but extent, to be as glorious to himself, and beneficial to mankind, as his own was ignominious and destructive. He had borne him an implacable hatred, at a time when he was more the object of compassion than envy; but now he had that additional motive, with which successful merit furnishes worthless men.

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† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. among the *Italian* letters, pag. 50.



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He perceived the gradual advances of the LEGATE to consummate fame and greatness; but saw it with impotent indignation. His imagination was haunted with the idea of a Person, who continued to condemn the misdemeanors of a long and guilty reign; and he resolved to rid himself at any rate of those dark, though causeless fears, against which the Guards of Tyrants are no defence. In consequence of this, he doomed to destruction a Prince of his own blood, and employed the basest as well as most iniquitous of all means to accomplish it. Though several other projects of the Assassination, which was now agreed on, had been strongly suspected, and publicly talked of, yet the first attempt of this kind, which came to a legal Trial, was discovered at *Viterbo*, where three *Italians* were hired by the King for that purpose. The LEGATE, on their conviction, instead of treating them according to their deserts, mitigated the severity of the laws in their favour; and, having caused them to be confined some time, set them again at liberty. This disappointment, and the LEGATE's clemency, served only to instigate *Henry's* ulcerated breast to repeat the crime, and find out more successful Instruments of it: and two *Englishmen*, one of which served in his lifeguards, and an *Italian*, were bribed to be the Assassins. The Scene laid for the murder was *Capranica*, whither the LEGATE was retired during the summer heats. But before the design was concerted, the *Russians*, who passed for *Flemish* Traders, were seized, on a suspicion they had raised of themselves, by being observed to be very inquisitive about the Governor's house; and two of them, on a nearer inquiry, were discovered to be *Englishmen*. Being questioned separately, and cross-examined, they fell first into the grossest contradictions, and then



then confessed who they were, and on what errand they had been sent. A letter was found on the *Italian*, which was to have been carried by one of the *English* Accomplices to *Cassali*, a man of family, and brother to one who had been remarkably active for the King, in the cause of the Divorce. It was penned in the true *Catiline* stile, and informed *Cassali*, he should soon hear from him by word of mouth, concerning the affair to which he was already privy \*. --- This second Act of Villany being brought to light, the LEGATE would not have those who were to have been the Perpetrators put to death: the injury, he said, was done to himself; he would therefore remit the punishment due to it; and only sent the criminals for a few days to the gallies †.

What *Henry* could not effect by his emissaries, he resolved to execute himself, as far as lay within his reach; and though he could not plunge a poniard in the LEGATE's breast, he wounded him in a more sensible part than any which concerned his own person. About three years before the time I am speaking of, Lord *Montague*, the LEGATE's elder brother, and others had been put to death, by a sentence, in which some faint appearances of legal proceedings were saved: but the Parliament had likewise attainted some other persons of the highest quality, in whose cause even the farce of Justice was superseded: the most conspicuous of which, on all accounts, was *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, the LEGATE's Mother. Her quality and her attachment to the Catholic Religion were her only crimes. Such a cause however, was too invidious to be alledged, even by one who had set himself

A a 2

\* Qui sum ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. *Salust.*  
† *Vita Poli*, fol. 42, adversa pagina. *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 99, et seq.



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himself above all restraint; and the Countess's conduct being blameless, something was to be invented which the King's pleasure might make high Treason. On this a report was spread, that she had forbidden her Dependents the use of the new Translation of the Bible into the *English* tongue, which was published by the Royal authority: That some Papal dispensations had been found at her country-seat at *Coudray*; and that she kept a correspondence with her Son. On a Cabinet Scrutiny it was discovered, that these accusations could not be made out; and if they could, were insufficient to form any thing capital against the Offender. A more summary method therefore was taken, which suited the King's temper, the slavish disposition to which he had reduced all orders in the Kingdom, and *Cromwell's* readiness to execute whatever he commanded. The question was put to the Judges by this Minister, whether the Parliament could attain a person within the Realm, without trial, or citing the party to appear before them. Their answer was, that it would be of the most fatal consequence; and that such a doubt ought not to be moved; and they hoped the high Court of Parliament would never set the inferior Courts an example of such unwarrantable proceedings. Being required to be more explicit in their answer, they delivered it as their opinion, that an attainder so passed could not be called in question, but would remain good in law. This was all the information the King wanted: having learnt by this declaration, that such a measure, though contrary to all right, was yet practicable, he resolved to employ it against the Countess; and *Cromwell* on this occasion produced to the house of Peers a banner, on which was embroidered the Symbol of the northern Insurgents, which he affirmed to have





have been found in her house. This was the guilt, and this the proof by which it was ascertained. The Parliament, without any further inquiry, passed a bill of Attainder against her; and involved, without any better proof, as far as appears, *Gertrude* Marchioness of *Exeter*, and some more. The Marchioness was pardoned. Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, and Sir *Thomas Dingley*, were put to death; but the Countess of *Salisbury's* execution was deferred for two years, till the time I am speaking of, during which interval she was confined in prison \*.

27th May.  
1541.

It was *Henry's* custom to treat those with the greatest rigour, whom he had honoured most with his favour, as soon as they fell into disgrace. To omit other instances, this inhumanity was remarkable in his behaviour towards the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, as appears from a letter that Prelate wrote to *Cromwell* whilst he was prisoner in the *Tower*, in which he ſets forth the great want he was in of common neceſſaries †. But though I have met with no particular detail of the hardships the Countess underwent in this long confinement; yet the known cruelty of the King's temper, the high degree of favour ſhe formerly enjoyed, the hatred he bore the LEGATE; even the proximity of blood in which ſhe ſtood related to him, and the undeſerved execution of her eldeſt ſon, Lord *Montague*, were all incentives of barbarity to a brutal nature. But what hurt his pride more than any thing elſe was an undaunted ſpirit, which ſhewed her ſuperior to all the attempts which were made to depreſs it, and never ſuffered her to be betrayed into any weakneſs unworthy the whole tenor of a well-

A a 3

ſpent

\* *Coke* 4th Inſtit. p. 37, et ſeq. *Rymer*, xiv. pag. 652.  
Lord *Herbert's* Life of *Henry VIII.* page 447, and 468.

† *Fuller's* Church Hiſtory.



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spent life. Her behaviour in these distressed circumstances, as Lord *Herbert* relates, who says, he had it from very good authority, was spirited and intrepid; and no arts could prevail on her to acknowledge a guilt, of which she was not conscious. For among the many hateful practices used by the Tyrant to extinguish, if possible, the eternal difference there will be between good and evil, and make their nature depend on his caprice, a principal one had always been, that those whom he treated with the greatest injustice, should confess themselves deserving of what he inflicted on them, and sue for mercy he did not intend to shew. Being brought to the scaffold, this venerable Matron retained to the last the dignity of the long race of Monarchs from whom she was descended, and of the cause in which she died, and refused to lay her head on the block. The Executioner telling her, it was customary so to do; she replied, it was so for Traitors, but she was none: and, turning about her gray head, she said, If he would have it, he must get it as he could. At which he aimed several fruitless blows at her neck, and mangled her body in a shocking manner, till she expired at his feet. Her last words were, *Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness-sake* \*.

The Royal descent of this Lady, her marriage and offspring, have been spoken of in the beginning of this Work. Besides these advantages, she was endowed with all those which constitute personal merit; and would have assured to her an uncommon regard from any Prince but him in whose reign she lived. Her brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had been basely put to death by the King's Father, in order to get rid of a Prince, who was the Heir to the Crown; and the Countess

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 76.



tefs had fucceeded to all his rights. The Princess *Mary*, *Henry's* daughter, had been educated by her; and his first Wife, *Catharine of Arragon*, had honoured her with an unreserved confidence. Yet all these claims to gratitude, love and respect, which met in the last of the *Plantagenets*, only contributed to make her finish her life in the 70th year of her age, by the hands of a common Executioner.

The LEGATE was at *Viterbo*, when the news was brought to him of this tragical event: and the manner in which he received it, is related by his Secretary *Becatelli*; and is too particular not to be set down in the detail he has given us of it. "I was with him, says he, when he was informed of his Mother's death; and it was on the following occasion. He had received several letters from *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*; and, having read them, he called me, as his custom was, to return the answers. As I was putting them together, I perceived one to be in *English*, and told him, I need not take that with me, as I did not understand the language. To which he replied, without the least emotion, I could wish you did, that you might read the good news it contains; and on my replying, I hope your Excellence will make me partaker of it; Hitherto, says he, I have thought myself indebted to the divine goodness, for having received my birth from one of the most noble and virtuous Women in *England*; but from henceforward my obligation will be much greater, as I understand that I am now the Son of a Martyr. The King has caused her to be publicly beheaded, for her constancy in the Catholic Faith; though she was seventy years of age, and, after his own children, the nearest to him in blood. This is the recompence he has thought fit to bestow for the care



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On this incident of the LEGATE's behaviour on his Mother's violent death, I cannot but recal the behaviour of another great man on the loss of a Daughter by a death, which, though untimely, was natural. The difference lets us see how much the Christian Religion, where it is a real, not a nominal guide of sentiment and action, made the former superior to one of the most boasted characters of Pagan antiquity, and whose Works were as familiar to him in his early years, as to any one of that Classic age. The *Roman* Consul, who forms this contrast, had all the advantages which learning, and the use of public life could give, to as fine a genius as nature ever produced; and yet, when these succours should have enabled him to bear up against an unforeseen affliction, and shew a wisdom and steadiness worthy such an apparatus, they yield nothing but folly and weakness. Having given himself up to unmanly lamentation, he falls into childish impiety, and rejects the usual custom of raising a sepulchral monument to *Tullia's* memory, because that was inconsistent with her deification, on which he was wholly intent. *Tullia*, therefore, who died in childbed, was to be changed into a Goddess, and divine honours decreed her. And because the credit of this new Divinity was not

Αποθεωσις.

† *Vita Poli*, fol. 44.



not sufficiently established to draw her Votaries into groves and retirements, the Temple was to be erected by the highway, and exposed to open veneration; and as private property is of a fluctuating nature, that this Memorial of extravagance and imbecillity might be perpetual, a grant was to be purchased of the *Roman* people, to build it on ground belonging to the public. His friend *Atticus* is employed to procure the finest marble, and the most elegant designs. The fond Father composes the act by which his Daughter is enrolled among the tutelar Divinities of *Rome*; addresses a prayer to her in that quality; and exhibits, in his own person, one of those guilty instances, to which *the book of Wisdom* ascribes the origin of Idolatry \*."-- Such opposite dispositions, in trials much the same, did the spirit of Christianity, and that of pagan Wisdom, produce in two great men, who enjoyed every other advantage almost in common. Ch. xiv. 15.

The Christian fortitude which the LEGATE shewed on this occasion, scarce seems capable of receiving any addition, by which the whole burnt Offering could be more complete: but his mind was of such a cast, as to think that practice of duty imperfect, which did not extend itself to every collateral act which could recommend it. Of this he gave a remarkable proof in the present case; for writing to the Cardinal of *St Marcellus*, "Your Excellence, says he, exhorts me to offer up my supplications for his change, who was the perpetrator of this butchery; in which you give me an instance of your friendship, and do as becomes the post you are in †. Was nothing more required to obtain this than the sacrifice of my own life; it would be most desirable to me to

\* Epist. ad *Atticum*.

† He was Grand Penitentiary.



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to give this proof of my disposition in his regard, and to give it immediately †."-- In which single sentiment there is more true greatness of soul, than in *Alexander's* passing the *Granicus*, when *Darius's* army covered the opposite banks, and disputed the descent.

Having assured himself of the Christian part of his heart, he considers his Mother's death in a view which discovers the common feelings of humanity; and presents the Reader with a Philosophy which is not out of his reach, though he should give up all that which is proposed in the foregoing example. "I comfort myself, says he, in another letter to *Silva*, Bishop of *Lava-dour*, in the calamities under which the Christian cause now labours, by reflecting that at other periods, when affairs have seemed desperate, a wise and good Providence has brought them to a happy issue; and I hope the like in our present circumstances. From my dispositions with respect to the Public, you may conjecture how I stand affected with what concerns myself. Nature indeed will sometimes repine, and draw from me an involuntary sigh, on the remembrance of persons, in whom every motive of love and esteem centered. But these sorrows cease, as soon as I have recourse to that never-failing source of comfort which lies open to all. When I have done this, I not only feel myself eased of my present oppression, but filled with joy: and sure, however cruel their case was, this unparalleled subject of consolation remains, that they were deemed by the Almighty worthy to imitate his blessed Son, and sign with their blood the truth of his doctrine. The Libels which have been published by their Adversaries, set forth their religious tenets, first, as the cause of their disgrace, and then

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 3. pag. 74.



then of their death. I cannot therefore but look on them as translated from the evils of mortality, to that state which alone deserves the name of Life; and should be an enemy to their blifs, if the want I feel of persons who were dear to me, made me regret their having made so desirable an exchange. This perfuasion, in which I thoroughly acquiesce, is sufficient to silence every contrary thought which rises in my breast. But if Nature still requires the succour of friendship and society, this relief is likewise at hand in several persons to whom I am more closely united, than I could be by the mere tie of consanguinity. These compensate the loss I have sustained, or cause it at least to be less felt; and should make all complaints cease."

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## SECT. VI.

*Errors and Disorders which gave occasion to the Council of Trent. CARDINAL POLE presides at it. Heads of the Decrees. Incidents during the Sessions.*

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IT was a felicity which attended the destiny of CARDINAL POLE, to have the different parts he was to discharge disposed in such a manner, as to give him an opportunity of rising in character as he advanced in years; and not finish the course of his life, till he had answered all those views, by which Providence was pleased to distinguish it. Like a great River, which rises from a clear and copious source, though it brings wealth and fruitfulness down its whole Channel, yet collects a larger stream the nearer it approaches its junction with the Ocean: the youth, and several periods of the CARDINAL's riper age, still received some fresh commendation, which made him more valuable in himself, and more useful to mankind; or, where his endeavours of the latter kind failed, shewed his dispositions to no less advantage, than if they had been attended with success. The expectation he raised at the University of Oxford, was afterwards confirmed by the fund of knowledge, and of a yet more valuable qualification, Integrity, which he brought from Padua, and enabled him to resist all the solicitations of a powerful King, and the allurements of a corrupt Court to ensnare his virtue, and make him prefer the gratification of ambition to the dictates of duty. When advanced to  
the



the Purple, he drew up that memorable plan of Reformation, which deserved the approbation I have already mentioned. His Embassies to the *French* and Imperial Courts, though unsuccessful, afforded him an opportunity of displaying qualities which are only exerted in disappointment; and convey the most useful of all lessons, a fuitable carriage in adverse fortune. These public employments were succeeded by the Government of a large Province; where, left to his own conduct, he made it appear, that no foreign guidance was wanting to direct and encourage him in whatever was great and laudable. There was something peculiar which distinguished each of the divisions I have treated of; and, like the principal figures of a fine picture, stood out and commanded an attention to itself. The countenance he gave to merit, and the Life of his friend *Longolius*, which he wrote with great elegance at the age of four and twenty, made him remarked during his stay at *Padua*. His refusal of the See of *York*, when offered on terms not consistent with honour and religion, drew on him the eyes of his own Country, almost as soon as he returned to it. The manner of passing his time at *Liege* and *Carpentras*; his behaviour at his Mother's death; his attention to the different departments of his Government; have been too circumstantially related, to stand in need of a recapitulation.

The period I am now come to, saw him at the head of one of the most illustrious Assemblies mankind had ever beheld; and met on an occasion well deserving the attention of such a Senate, the Reformation of the Christian World. But before I enter on a detail of this Meeting, and of the part which He, who is the subject of this History, had in it, it may be requisite to say some-



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something of the state of *Europe*, with respect to Morals and Religion; which made this expedient then necessary, in order to check the disorders which already prevailed, and prevent still further evils with which Christianity was threatened.

A Reformation was not more desired at the time I am speaking of, in which a General Council was called to effect it, than it had been in past ages, when any remarkable degeneracy seemed to fally them. It has been a theme, on which wise and good men of all times have expatiated; and their complaints on this head have informed us, that the moral state of mankind never came up to the ideas and wishes of the thoroughly virtuous. Some of them have either assigned reasons for the prevalent disorders, which fell more immediately under their observation, drawn from the temper of their own minds; or have ascribed to one or few causes those effects, which were the result of many. The Church of *Rome*, which, through so many centuries, had maintained Ecclesiastical Discipline, no less by her example than the preeminence of her See, had, in succeeding times, not been exempt from these censures. To go up no higher than the twelfth Century, St *Bernard*, who lived in it, and never failed to warn all orders of men of a decay of piety, thought this Mother-Church tainted with the general contagion. His Work, *on Consideration*, addressed to a great Pope, who had been his Disciple, sufficiently shews what his opinion was of the Court of *Rome*, and his zeal to reform it.

The disorders had since increased; and a celebrated Prelate of the following age, being ordered by the Pope to prepare the matters which were to be discussed in the Council of *Vienne*, makes



makes the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members, the ground-work of this undertaking \*. The grand Schism, which happened about the same time, made its necessity appear in a still stronger light; and not only private persons, but General Councils have acknowledged it. Nothing can surpass the energy of some discourses on this subject, pronounced in those of *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basil*: in the latter of which the most promising hopes were eluded, and new subjects of complaint added to the former. But to bring the case still nearer the epoch I am to treat of, the remonstrance made on this head to *Eugenius IV.* by the greatest personage of the fifteenth Century, and a Member of the sacred College, has more the air of prophesy than of mere human foresight †.

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The disorders, says he, of the Clergy, and chiefly of those in *Germany*, of which he had seen too many melancholy instances, whilst he was Legate there, provoke the hatred of the People against that Order; and if a stop be not put to them, it is to be feared they will make good their threats of giving us no better treatment than we received from the *Hussites*. He foretels, that if this amendment does not speedily take place, the Heresy of the *Bohemians* would be followed by another still more dangerous, because the people would look on the Clergy as incorrigible. The expectation of mankind, says he, is big with what is to happen, and seems to forebode something tragical. Their ill dispositions towards us are already but too visible; and, in a short time, it will be deemed a grateful sacrifice

\* *Guil. Durandus* Epis. Mim. Tract. de Modo Gener. Conc. celebrandi.

† Epist. 1. *Juliani Cesarini* Card. ad *Eugen. IV.* P. M. Inter Op. *Æn. Silvii*, p. 66.



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crifice to the Almighty, to persecute and turn us out of our possessions, as persons equally hateful to God and man. The slender remains of respect for the sacred Ministry will soon vanish; and the blame of these disorders be cast on the Church of *Rome*, for not applying a remedy. He saw the ax laid to the root; that the tree was leaning to its fall; and instead of propping it, whilst it was yet time, its destruction was hastened.

But it must be observed, that not one of these great men, who so earnestly desired the Reformation of the Church, ever entertained a thought of changing a single Article of her Faith, or abolishing any part of her Worship: and when turbulent and seditious spirits presumed to censure her tenets, or dispute the authority of her Pastors, and particularly of her chief Bishop, they rose up in defence of what an uninterrupted tradition had delivered down to them; and looked on a breach with the Catholic Church, as the greatest of all evils. All their zeal was to correct abuses, which had vitiated the primitive discipline; and recal the piety and purity of manners, from which Christians of all orders had much fallen †.

The evils which have been related, were not peculiar to one nation; and on whatever side an accurate observer cast his eye, he beheld Christianity exposed to equal danger from different causes, which are the growth of Climate, and seem constitutional to whole States; and though they were utterly opposite to each other, yet each seemed to threaten the faith and morality of the Gospel with equal ruin: as buildings perish by earthquakes, inundations, fire, and hostile rage; or

† St Bern. Serm. 65, and 66, in Canticum Salamonis. Gerson, Serm. de Ascen. Dom. habitus coram Alex. V. P. M. &c.



or are permitted, by the laziness of the inhabitants, to fall down and moulder to nothing. The ease and opulence which the Clergy had long enjoyed, brought on those inconveniencies which always attend immoderate wealth, though lodged in consecrated hands. On whatever motives the Croisades, or holy wars, were undertaken, they had a mischievous effect on the morals of the greatest part of *Europe*; and the age we are now to enter on, had drained all the dregs which the absence of Bishops from their Dioceses, the relaxation of canonical penitence, and the importation of foreign vices, added to the evils of war in general, had left behind them. A gloomy, unprofitable, and litigious kind of learning, had taken possession of the Schools, to which all sensible Antiquity, both sacred and profane, had been a stranger; which answered no purpose of Religion or Reason, and banished every pursuit which tended to promote the interests of either: and when mankind awakened from a trance of some Centuries, during which the tares of false Science had been sown by pedantry, and every enemy to the improvement and ornament of the human mind, and true taste and literature were now revived, the cause of Religion had a new and hitherto unknown foe to struggle with, which was the abuse of this very advantage. For though it must be acknowledged, that several of those to whom the world is indebted for this blessing, were no less irreproachable Christians, than men of exquisite learning, yet the number of those of a contrary character was very great.

I shall present the Reader with one instance of this kind, as it shews how far the frenzy of learning may go. *Pomponius Letus* was one of the first Restorers of Letters, and public Professor of Eloquence at *Rome*, under *Sixtus IV.* and *Inno-*



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cent VIII. His lectures were so crowded, that whereas he began them early, the benches were generally filled by midnight. He confined all his knowledge within the bounds of the *Roman* Commonwealth and Empire, and was totally ignorant of almost every thing which was not comprised there. He had no knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, and could never be prevailed on to learn it, lest it should prejudice the purity of his stile in the *Latin*. He knew nothing of the holy Scriptures, nor of the Writings of the Fathers, and had read few Authors who have written since the fall of the *Roman* Empire. He carried his idolatry to this people so far, that not contented to celebrate the Anniversary of the building of *Rome* with ceremony, and to erect altars to *Romulus*, he had the impiety to despise the Christian Religion, and to speak of it as fit only for Barbarians. This extravagance was common to him and several of the Learned of those times, who were so intoxicated with the beauties of the *Latin* language, that they conceived a religious reverence for every thing which had any relation to the people who spoke it, and a contempt of whatever had not the stamp of Pagan Antiquity.

To these disadvantages, under which Christianity then laboured, the fifteenth Century had likewise the misfortune to see some of the Popes, during that period, altogether unworthy the supreme place they held; and their Court, instead of giving that example, which the world had a right to expect from it, was infected with Vices, which, like a torrent, spread themselves over all nations.

These general causes of the necessity of a Reformation were quickened into birth by the following event. The Grant of Indulgences had been as ancient as Christianity; and is founded

on



on a merciful God's condescension to the weakness of human nature: for an involuntary tendency to evil being the unhappy lot of mankind, since our first Parents forfeited the original rectitude in which they were created, our gracious Maker is frequently pleased to remit the guilt of Sin, and the eternal punishment which is incurred by it, and yet exact of the Sinner those temporary chastisements, by which the divine Justice is atoned, and the offender rendered for the future more cautious. This doctrine, so consonant to goodness and wisdom, is often asserted and exemplified in holy Writ, and particularly in the History of *David*, who had no sooner testified the sincerity of his repentance for the double crime of Adultery and Murder, than the Prophet was ordered by Almighty God to inform him, that his guilt was remitted, but nevertheless that the Son, who was the fruit of it, should die. The Church, to which the ample promise was made by her Founder, that, *Whatever she loosed on Earth should be loosed in Heaven*, has ever understood this Commission to extend not only to the absolving the Guilty, on sufficient tokens of their Repentance, but to prescribe and mitigate the punishment by which Sin is cancelled. In the first ages of Christianity, when great crimes were rare, the canonical penitence imposed for such faults was long and laborious; and the primitive Church had been in possession of abridging it, at the recommendation of the Martyrs and others, who had signalized themselves in the cause of JESUS CHRIST. This practice, as it is an illustrious proof of the antiquity and lawfulness of Indulgences, so the use which was made of it in those early days was very temperate, nor granted without great discernment. This is evident from the vigour with which St *Cyprian* and other



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Prelates opposed those who procured surreptitious recommendations from the Martyrs, in order to diminish the stated time and rigour of their penitential exercises, and be reconciled sooner than was expedient. But the wisdom of this oeconomy was afterwards lain aside; and endless abuses arose from a pretext of aiding Sinners to expiate their transgressions.

The scandalous traffic of these Grants was the glaring disorder of those times; and had raised such a general discontent in all Orders, as endangered the Grace itself, and the authority which conferred it, to fall into contempt. *Leo X.* had caused Indulgences to be published throughout the Christian World, for all persons who contributed to the building *St Peter's Church*, on which magnificent structure he was wholly intent; and towards carrying on a war which he had projected against the *Turk*. This publication had occasioned a warm dispute between the *Austin* and *Dominican* Friars. The former, who had hitherto been in possession of the Commission, were piqued that the *Dominicans* should, on this occasion, be preferred to them; and *John Staupitz*, their Vicar-General, ordered *Martin Luther*, a Monk of the order, to preach in opposition to their Rivals. It must be allowed, that some of the latter laid themselves open to censure, by the exorbitant propositions they advanced concerning the efficacy of these Pardons; and *Luther* was a proper person to avail himself of such an advantage. He began by blaming the abuse, and then proceeded to condemn the thing; and to speak of the Papal power in such a manner, as that several Catholic Divines, amongst whom *Echius* distinguished himself, thought themselves obliged to oppose him. This resistance irritated the haughty spirit of *Luther*,  
and



and he continued to make fresh attacks on different Articles of the ancient doctrine, and to discredit it in the minds of the People.

The Pope being informed of the flame which was kindled in *Germany*, caused the Author of it to be cited to make his appearance at *Rome*; and ordered Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was his Legate at the Diet of *Augsburg*, to use all methods to reclaim a turbulent Monk, who threatened the Church with dangerous divisions. If he remained obstinate, the Legate was ordered to seize his person; and, if that could not be effected, to excommunicate him, and all who adhered to his errors, and to lay all places which afforded him a retreat under an Interdict. *Luther*, on this, being provided with a safe conduct from the Emperor, came to *Augsburg*, and having had several conferences with the Legate, in which he maintained whatever he had hitherto advanced, he retired to a place of greater safety. The breach became every day wider, and a multitude of erroneous tenets were published, from time to time, either in his Sermons, or his Works. As novelty has always attractives for superficial and curious minds, his books were greedily read by great numbers even of the Learned, who took up with the doctrine contained in them: and the Vulgar was easily misled by the specious name of a Reformation, which he made a profession to introduce; and by retrenching auricular Confession, and bodily Austerities, under a pretext of asserting to his Profelytes that liberty to which the Gospel intituled them. The Duke of *Saxony* declared himself his Protector; other considerable personages adopted his opinion; and the whole *Germanic* Body began to be divided in point of Religion.

1518.

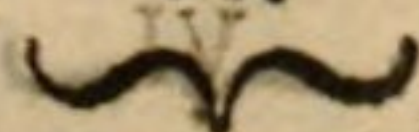


*Leo* was of opinion that this ferment would subside of itself, and that it was not adviseable to give the Mover of it a Reputation by taking any further notice of him, or occasion his casting himself into still more desperate measures, from which there would be no regress. But *Echius* represented with such energy the desolation which his errors had caused throughout *Germany*, that the Pope referred the business to a celebrated Committee of Cardinals, Bishops, Divines, and Canonists, who debated a considerable time rather on the form, in which the censure should be drawn up, than on the censure itself, on which they were all agreed. At length they came to a resolution to condemn *Luther's* doctrine as heretical, and prescribed the term within which his books were to be burnt. In the mean time he was left at full liberty to pass condemnation on them, and was summoned to appear in person.

15th June,  
1520.

This resolution being taken, the Pope passed a Decree, by which one and forty Articles, extracted from his Works, concerning Original Sin, Penitence, the Remission of Sins, the Eucharist, the Papal power, the Authority of a General Council, Indulgences, Good Works, Free Will, Purgatory, Excommunications, the Alms on which mendicant Friars subsisted, were condemned as respectively heretical, false, scandalous, pernicious, and contrary to Catholic doctrine. *Luther*, on this, reiterated his appeal to a future Council, and intreated the Emperor and all Magistrates to interest themselves in the authority of that Assembly, which he pretended was the only competent Judge in religious Controversies. Several *German* Princes and States joined in this Appeal, and called aloud for a Council, from views inconsistent with the end for which it was to be held; in hopes of obtaining vigorous resolutions against the Clergy,





gy, whose jurisdiction they looked on as a diminution of their own, and whose wealth they coveted. As the designs were sinister, the means by which they were compassed were suited to such purposes: they would have a Council composed, not of Bishops and Priests only, as had hitherto been the practice of the Church, but of Lay persons also, who should give blindly into their measures. The general ignorance of the common people with respect to Religion, and the little regard they paid to what they knew of it, disposed them to the same perverseness, and they likewise were instructed to consider this great meeting as a means to ease themselves of several fees, which were looked on as Exactions, and which they wanted a pretext to get rid of.

The liberty which *Luther*, and all other Reformers, after his example, allowed themselves of interpreting Scripture by their own private judgment, gave birth to a variety of Sects, and armed them against one another, no less than against the Catholic Church: and *Gregory Pauli*, having revived in *Poland* the impiety of *Michael Servetus's* doctrine concerning the Trinity, had the insolence to cause a Temple to be painted, the roof of which was uncovered by *Luther*, the walls pulled down by *Calvin*, and the foundation sapped by himself.

In the midst of this confusion, *Leo* died. He had desired to procure some remedy to Evils which he saw increase every day, but in the disposition *Europe* then was, he thought a General Council would be a hazardous expedient; and he feared what such an Assembly might undertake concerning a reform of the Court of *Rome*, which he was unwilling should be submitted to any inspection but his own.



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The two succeeding Pontiffs, *Adrian VI.* and *Clement VII.* continued to be witnesses of the divisions which troubled the peace of the Church, and of the corruptions which had been the occasion, and served as a pretence for them. As these innovations had begun by some abuses in the grant of Indulgences, *Adrian*, who was an able Divine, thought of setting forth the doctrine relating to them in such a manner as to remove whatever had given offence; and having lain aside this design, he was advised to re-establish the use of public Penitence, as it had been practised through many ages with great profit: but was informed by those he consulted, that the depraved state of Christendom rendered the execution of it absolutely impracticable. He complained to *Soderino*, his friend and confident, of the slender disposition he found, even in the officers of his own Court, to reform several unwarrantable practices, which caused the Innovators to say, that every thing was venal at *Rome*. The Cardinal, who had been employed under the three last Popes, *Alexander*, *Julius*, and *Leo*, represented to him, that in the situation things then were, those measures which in other circumstances might seem adviseable, would then only serve to make the Disturbers of the public tranquillity more insolent, and heighten their Credit with the people: that they would look on the intended Reformation as a confession of the abuses they had complained of, and instead of being satisfied with what he should do in order to remedy Evils, which length of time had never failed to introduce, would go on to demand other essential changes, and thus throw every thing into confusion.

*Clement*, his Successor, of the house of *Medici*, who had been used to Courts, made use of that address



address which is there acquired; but to as little purpose as *Adrian* had employed zeal and learning; and *Paul III.* who succeeded him, began his Pontificate by reminding the Cardinals of the solemn engagement they all had taken on entering the Conclave, that whoever was chosen Pope, should call a general Council within two years after his election. He intreated them not to wait the expiration of the term prefixed; but, as the reformation of Christendom was to begin by the Ecclesiastical order, to set such an example in their own persons, as might serve to edify the Church, and silence the censure of those who had left her communion. He let no consistory pass, during the first eight years of his pontificate, without pressing this point; and made some fruitless efforts to comply with his engagement of assembling a general Council.

It was now five and twenty years since *Luther* had begun an open defection from the Catholic Church. Several Diets which had been held in the Empire, at the chief of which the Popes Legates had presided, the repeated conferences of the Popes with the Emperors, and the regulations published by the former, had done little more than let the World see the acknowledged necessity there was of them, and the small effect they produced. During these consultations the new opinions had still continued to make some fresh breach on the received belief of all Antiquity, and to gain over new Profelytes.

*Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, *John Frederic* his successor, and *Philip* Landgrave of *Hesse*, became *Luther's* Disciples. Their respective states embraced the tenets of their Sovereigns. *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, declared himself in favour of the same doctrine, and seized the Church revenues of his Dominions, within ten years after *Luther's* first



SECT. VI. first appearance. *Christiern*, King of *Danemark*, followed his example, and having banished the Episcopal order, he entered on their possessions, and appointed Overseers to discharge their functions: and, about the same time, *Lutheranism* was introduced into *Hungary*, *Misnia*, *Thuringia*, and the Electorate of *Brandenburg*, and the Brethren of *Bohemia* revived in that kingdom the errors of the *Hussites*. *Poland* was so giddy with a continual rotation of Doctrine, that the Synod of *Scrinia*, held a few years after the time I am speaking of, came to this wild resolution, of allowing every one to believe as he thought proper; and, at the last day, it would appear who had been in the right. This was the only clue they found to extricate themselves out of a Labyrinth, in which the enormous licentiousness of new Opinions had bewildered them: for, in the *Anti-trinitarian* party alone, there were two and thirty Sects, which agreed in nothing, but denying the Divinity of the Son of God. Half the Swiss Cantons had received *Zuinglius's* Articles at the Conference of *Bern*, and caused a Pillar to be raised, and the day and year of the abolition of the Catholic Faith to be recorded on it, in letters of gold: but they declared, that though they received the new religion, they reserved to themselves the freedom of adding or retrenching what they thought fit. The *Anabaptists* appeared at the same time under different Leaders, and made no account of the Sacraments or exterior worship of religion. Under a neglected outside, which went even to filth, they concealed a violent and ambitious spirit, and were always in arms against the temporal and spiritual powers. Their revolt began among the Clowns in *Suabia*, and not only communicated itself to all the neighbouring Provinces and the Low Countries; but,

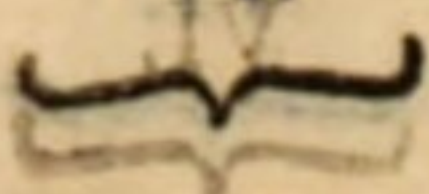


so bewirching, in those days of deception, was the spirit of error, in proportion as it was absurd, that in *Switzerland* it proved almost an overmatch to the more moderate Fanaticism there established.

Whilst these and the like extravagancies shook religion in *Germany* to its very center, *France* had drunk deep of *Calvin's* spirit; which likewise had so far infected not only the religious but the civil principles of great numbers in *Italy*, and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that a few years after the period I am speaking of, the Viceroy was obliged to oppose them with open force. The Author, in many respects resembled *Luther*: like him, he had those qualities which gave vogue to an Innovator, extreme boldness in advancing new opinions, and invincible obstinacy in maintaining them; indefatigable industry; sufficient eloquence to captivate superficial minds; knowledge enough to impose on pretenders to learning, and too much vanity ever to acknowledge he had been in a mistake. After having set forth his tenets by word of mouth, he published his *Institutes*, which are a collection of them; and, though in general he agrees with *Luther*, yet he often goes beyond his Master. It has been already seen, in what manner the defection of one of the fairest portions of the Catholic Church, was the effect of the Lust and Avarice of one despotic Tyrant. But the Reformation, as it was every where termed, though pursued through endless changes, was so far from producing any Amendment, that the Morals of those who relinquished the old Religion, became visibly more degenerate; and, to instance a striking effect which this progressive depravity had on some of the Spectators, the *Lutheran* Magistrates of the Imperial Cities petitioned *Charles V.* to cause *Auricular Confession* to be re-established by his authority,



rity, as the people were remarkably more licentious since it had been disused.



*Numbers,*  
*chap. xiv.*

The rapid progress of all these jarring opinions was soon represented by *Luther*, and some of his Followers, as an argument of their truth, and even as a declaration of Heaven in their favour: but such opinions found encouragement enough in all the passions of the mind of man, without exception, to make their success as little wonderful, as their origin was dishonourable. The causes could not be more natural, and nothing was less requisite than a miracle, to give vogue to doctrines which coincided with all the corrupt inclinations of human Nature. When Monasteries are thrown open, and Priests and Religious of both sexes exempted from the observance of their vows, no considerate person will wonder that many of them should say, "Let us choose for ourselves a Leader, and go back into *Egypt*." The same must be said of the Laity who were eased of many painful observances of Church discipline, Fasts, Confession, and Penitence; and carnal souls, of which the Christian world was then full, readily received carnal instructions. At the same time, as we have seen, the wealth of the Church became every where the plunder of those who renounced her authority. The Mysteries of Religion, tho' proposed to our understanding with all the evidence of light and truth, are still incomprehensible; and must always be the object of faith rather than knowledge, as being little consonant to reason, and to the experience of our senses; and this casts curious and presumptuous minds into error and impiety. The Profelytes of the new Sects were, moreover, allowed to be the Arbitrators of their own belief, and, though no pretensions could be more extravagant, yet it flattered their



their vanity, and left them at large to *prophecy smooth things* to every corruption of their heart. The sacred obscurity in which the Eucharist is veiled, was particularly marked out as an imposition on human reason: and the doctrines concerning it, were brought down to the test of our senses. The disorders of Churchmen had stirred up an indiscreet and bitter zeal, which ended in schism and revolt. Thus, as has been said, the Sectaries having found the method of inlisting into their cause all the various weaknesses of human nature, and having accommodated their opinions to springs of action which are so universal and prevalent, their progress has nothing more extraordinary than that of *Mahomet*, who took the like method.

Three Pontificates, as has been said, had already passed in projects of a General Council, and a fourth was entered on with the same irresolution. CARDINAL POLE was in the second year of his government of *Viterbo*, when *Sadolet* wrote to him on the present prospect of affairs in the following manner: "If you knew, says he, what was the subject of almost all conversations, you would pine with the same inward anguish which consumes me. Perhaps, indeed, you are informed of it, since what is talked of in every circle, and by people of all ranks, cannot be any longer a secret. All that is blameable, redounds to his dishonour, whom we revere and love, and to whom we have the highest obligations. I will not descend to particulars, that I may not increase my own sorrow and renew yours. This must be evident to a common observer, that whatever goes amiss in Christendom, is immediately imputed to us: and the readiness Mankind shew in this accusation, betrays the too general prejudice which prevails



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prevails against us \*.” These complaints, which came to the Pope from all sides, and from none louder than the Emperor and the whole *Germanic* Body, seemed, at length, to have determined him to put off no longer the only remedy which was adequate to the greatness of the Evil. A Diet of the Empire being held in 1542 at *Spire*, gave his Legate an opportunity of conferring with the Princes and Deputies of the States there assembled, on some Preliminaries, which might contribute to render the future Council more salutary, and the City of *Trent*, among other places, being proposed for the meeting, it was accepted by the Catholic powers. The others objected to this choice, and to any Assembly, in which the Papal authority intervened. This was to begin by schism what was designed to put an end to it. The decree, however, passed, by which the Council was summoned for the beginning of *November*.

The City of *Trent* is situated very advantageously on the Frontiers of *Germany* and *Italy*, and abounds with all kinds of provisions and merchandise. It is very well built in general, and yields to few in *Germany* for the largeness and conveniency of its houses, and places of public entertainment. The river *Atthesis* which washes its walls, waters a part of *Italy*, and loses itself in the

\* Qui si nosset quæ nunc sint rumoribus hominum pervulgata, etsi ea fortasse scis, non enim obscura sunt, sed passim in circulis angulisque omnibus jaclantur, dolore animi mecum una tabesceres. Erumpunt porro omnia in illius caput et nomen, quem nos et veneramur et diligimus, et cujus beneficiis maxime obstricti sumus. Quæ ego non commemorabo, ne et augeam dolorem meum, et tibi mœstitiam afferam. Illud certe patet et perspicuum est, quidquid eveniat in Republica Christiana, adversi atque mali, de eo statim homines culpam in nos et crimen conferre paratos esse: ut occultari dissimularique non possit quæ sit omnium mortalium de nobis et de moribus nostris planè jam existimatio. *Jac. Sad. Card. Epist. lib. 13. epist. 6. Lugd. edit. anni 1560.*



the *Adriatic* gulf. Though the City be surrounded with high mountains, which the Ancients call the *Alps* of *Trent*, the air is wholesome on account of the coolness caused by the snows which always cover them; and the woods, which grow on their sides, temper the summer sun, which darts his beams with excessive violence on this Vale. No place could be more convenient for holding the Council, it being the Center, as it were, of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*; and not being subject to any Sovereign, those who dissented from the Church of *Rome* had no pretext for the fears, under which they disguised their real aversion to appear before this august Assembly. The Bishop is both the Spiritual and Temporal Lord; and, at the time I am speaking of, both Jurisdictions were executed by Cardinal *Madrucci*, a *German*.

1st Nov.  
1542.

The Legates nominated by the Pope to open the Council and preside at it, were the Cardinals *Paul Parisius*, a celebrated Doctor of the Canon Law; *John Moron*, who had been lately honoured with the Purple, on account of his eminent services in *Germany*, and was remarkable for his probity and skill in the management of business; and REGINALD POLE, who to the advantages of Royal extraction, innocence, and prudence, was known to the Northern nations for his lenity, and esteemed and beloved by them for it. The Patent for their commission being made out, the Pope ordered them, when they were come to *Trent*, to treat with the Prelates and Ambassadors they found there, of general matters, without entering on any particular points till they had his further instructions. He enjoined them, also, to notify to all Sovereigns, the commission they were charged with; to exhort them to send the Prelates of their respective Dominions to the Council; to

cause



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cause the Summons to be affixed to the great doors of the Cathedral, that all persons might be informed. He ordered them not to enter into any contest, before the beginning of the Council, with those who had left the Catholic Communion, but to treat them with great moderation; and, lastly, not to open the Council till a competent number of Bishops were arrived from *Italy, Germany, France and Spain.*

On the first notification, the Emperor, who was at *Madrid*, ordered *Mendoza*, his Ambassador at *Venice*, *Granville*, and his Son, who was then Bishop of *Arras*, to go, on his part, to *Trent*, with some Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the war then raged between him and *Francis I. Charles* foresaw that none of the Ends, for which the Council met, would be obtained; but he was desirous nothing might pass to his prejudice.

The Pope, likewise, caused some *Italian* Prelates to set out; and those who were sent on the Emperor's part, being come within the time prescribed, they made very pressing instances for the opening the Council; which the Legates refused, alleging the small number of Bishops, who were present; and the din of war with which they were alarmed on all sides. To this *Granville* replied, that, in the mean time, measures might be entered on for a reformation of manners, which would not find the same difficulties, to which other debates were liable. But the Legates answered, that as all Christian states were interested in this affair, it could not be discussed till their Representatives were arrived; and they sent an account of this demand to *Rome*. The Pope's proceeding decided the question, for he ordered the Legate to leave *Trent*, at the beginning of the following year, within a few months after the meeting,



meeting, and adjourned the Council to another time\*. SECT.  
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This abrupt breaking up of an Assembly, which had been so long desired, and was so much wanted, gave the *English* LEGATE a very sensible affliction, for writing to the Pope two years after, when it was resumed again, “My personal obligations, says he, and the affection and reverence I bear your Holiness will not allow me to be silent on an occasion which redounds so much to your honour. My joy is the greater as I reflect on our last ignominy, when being called together by your authority, in order to celebrate a general Council, and being dismissed without having effected any of the things we met on, many upbraided us in the words of *Jeremy*, *The Children were come to the mouth of the womb, but strength was wanting to bring them forth.* But now the Council is opened again, we not only hope that this reproach will cease, and we be intitled to say, *The Lord has been mindful of Rachel*, and blessed her with fruitfulness; but that there will be such an abundance of divine favour, as may enable us to invite all, who have the cause of Christianity at heart, in the words of the same Prophet, to partake of the comforts which have succeeded such lasting sorrow and disappointment†.”

During this prorogation the CARDINAL returned to his Government of *Viterbo*; and, the following year, he was deprived of a Friend, who had given him such instances of attachment as true history has seldom equalled, or fiction surpassed. This was the Bishop of *Verona*, by whose death *Italy*, or, to speak more properly, *Europe* lost

\* *Ciaccon.* in vitis Pontif. l. 3. *Belcar.* in comment. l. 23. *Pallav.* *Thuanus.* ad hunc annum.

† *Epist. Card. Poli*, tom. 3. epist. 17.



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lost one of her most deserving Prelates and best Citizens. The Reader need not be here reminded of the early discovery he made of our Countryman's merit, the labours he shared with him in his Embassies, and the proofs he never ceased to give him of a generous and useful friendship. Being on his death-bed, he confirmed his past judgment of the *English* CARDINAL's worth, for knowing how much his fortune was inadequate to his rank and occasions, he bequeathed to him a yearly pension of 2,000 Ducats, which he had a grant to transfer, on the Bishoprick of *Granada*, and another benefice in the Church of *Valentia*, of the yearly value of 800 more. The singular encouragement given to letters by this illustrious Prelate, gained him the good-will and commendation of *Erasmus* \*, and *Sadolet* †; the latter of whose letters to him are written with such a sense of his uncommon and universal worth, that, were other monuments wanting, they alone must consign his name to the latest posterity. *Vida* has consecrated his memory by a very elegant Poem ‡, and *Bembo* calls the choicest blessings to honour and reward a merit, of which there were few Examples §.

Whilst the general welfare of Christendom was at a stand from considerations which ought not to have influenced their conduct, who were intrusted with the chief government of it; all the vigour which the spirit of destruction can give was exerted by Him who had assumed the headship of the Church in *England*. Henry, three years after

\* Præfuli isti *Veronensi* (*Matthæo Giberti*) benefaverint omnes Superi, qui de privato suo curat utilitatem publicam, suisque impensis parat tam insigne beneficium studiosis omnibus. *Erasm.* ep. l. 25. *Germ.* *Brix.* et alibi.

† *Epist.* pag. 9, 110, 112, 113.

‡ *Poem.* pars 1. ed. *Tristram*.

§ In *Benaco*.



after the act of cruelty exercised on the Countess of *Salisbury*, the LEGATE's Mother, exhibited a scene of rapacity and sacrilege, which, till then, had wanted a precedent, and, for the honour of human nature, has not been copied since. An incredible treasure, which the plunder of seven hundred Religious houses had brought in being now as lavishly squandered as it was shamefully acquired; and the cravings of avarice and other passions being only irritated by a perpetual condescension to them, he caused the Parliament to make over to him the revenues, churches, and buildings, belonging to all the Colleges, Seminaries, Chanteries, and Brotherhoods throughout *England*, with full power to dispose of all sacred oblations and funds appropriated to all such like purposes. The nation was prepared for this final desolation by having been witness to the means of rapine, with which even his acts of bounty supplied him. For having founded, in this latter part of his reign, six new Bishopricks, they were so impoverished, that the first Incumbents lived on the benevolence of their Clergy, and other well-disposed persons\*; and the King made reprisals on the ancient Sees for this fit of generosity, and caused the Parliament to give him seventy Manors belonging to that of *York*: *Cranmer* gave up twelve belonging to *Canterbury*; and the large possessions of *Durham* were, many years, secularized. These seizures were attended with indignities more outrageous than the violence itself, and with the utmost contempt of his people. He began by assuring them the alienations should not be detrimental to piety or learning; and then complained, he was out of pocket by the great expence he had been at in dissolving Monasteries, and reforming abuses in the Church; and hoped, they

Cc 2

\* *Collier's Church History*, vol. 2. b. 6. pag. 480.



## THE HISTORY OF THE

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they would find out some method to reimburse him, which he took care they should do in the following manner.

Besides the Religious houses, which may be looked on as Capital Messuages, there were several lesser tenements, such as Collegiate Churches, Hospitals, Chanteries, Free Chapels, Gilds, and several other foundations of the like import. The number of these establishments, at the time I am speaking of, is said to have been 2734, erected in several ages, chiefly by the Subject, whose property was now invaded beyond any power of redress. Some of them had been instituted for the decency and solemnity of the divine service, and the manifold national advantages, which accrued from such performance: others, for the support of the indigent, sick, and aged, and for a competent number of Priests, to afford them spiritual assistance; to which charges was added a lasting obligation of supplicating the divine Majesty in behalf of their living and deceased Benefactors.

The name of Gild, which is derived from the *Saxon Gilo*, and signifies money, was given to Companies which throw any part of their property into a common Stock, either of traffic, charity, or religion. They had their annual feasts, and neighbourly meetings. The Gild of *Coventry* will inform the Reader of the plan on which all the rest were formed. It was founded in the fourteenth year of the reign of *Edward III.* and the King grants licence to the Inhabitants to have a Merchants Gild, and a fraternity of Brothers and Sisters belonging to the same, with a Master and Warden: as, likewise, to erect Chanteries and endow charitable foundations, and perform such other acts of Religion as require the Royal assent; and to make rules and ordinances for the good government of the said Societies. In the seven-



seventeenth year of his reign, he extended this Privilege to several others of the same place, and appointed the Gild thus erected to honour Saint *John Baptist*, as their principal Patron. They were to purchase a perpetual fund for a Chantry of six Priests, who were to celebrate every day solemn Mass for the repose of the souls of the King's Ancestors, and the good estate of his Majesty and the Royal family. Two years after, he enabled Queen *Isabel*, his mother, to assign a parcel of land to one of these Gilds, to build a Chapel, and endow it, for the maintenance of two Priests, to perform the above-mentioned functions \*.

Of all these donations, so worthy the character of the *English*, their piety to their Maker, and compassion towards their fellow-creatures, only the Colleges within the two Universities, those of *Winchester* and *Eton*, the Chapel of *St George* at *Windsor*, and a few others, upon earnest application, escaped being reformed, or, in other words, suppressed.

Nothing of the Church's Temporalities remained now unseized, but the Bishopricks. In order therefore that Sacrilege might take its full range, a Plan was drawn up for secularising the next vacant Sees; as *Paget*, *Deny*, and *Herbert*, who were privy to the design, told the King's Executors †. His death hindered this resolution from being executed; and preserved the only remaining monuments of *Saxon* Piety and Munificence from a Tyrant, who was no less an alien to their blood, than to the goodness of their dispositions.

It was now two years since the Council which met at *Trent*, after having sat a few months, had been

C c 3

\* *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, page 109, 119.

† *Collier*, as before, book 4. page 219.



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been prorogued, without any certain limitation either as to time or place. The *English* LEGATE passed this interval at *Rome* and *Viterbo*, in his usual studies, and attention to the Province of which he was Governor. A Peace was now concluded between the Emperor and *French* King; and, among other Articles, it had been agreed to use their united endeavours in the support of the Catholic Religion, the reformation of the Court of *Rome*, and the continuation of the Council. Soon after this, *Paul* III. published a decree, by which it was again summoned; but of the three who were Legates at the first meeting, CARDINAL POLE alone was nominated to preside at this. The other two were *John del Monte*, Cardinal Bishop of *Palestrina*; and *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Priest of the holy Cross: the *English* LEGATE was Cardinal Deacon of *St Mary in Cosmedin*. To these the Pope joined, as Assistants, two other Prelates, and a noted Preacher. They all arrived at *Trent* at the beginning of *March*, 1545. CARDINAL POLE excepted, who came some time after. This delay was occasioned by the risk he would then have run on the road from *Henry's* resolution to dispatch him at all events. His Collegues wrote to him, on the information of the Bishop of *Trent*, that one *Ludovico*, an Agent for the King in the cause of the Divorce, and an *Italian* Count, *Bonifacio*, who were hired to be the *Russians*, had engaged to seize him on the road †. Wherefore when he set out, a month after, he was escorted by five and twenty Horse, as far as *Mantua*, and for greater security took a bye way.

Had

† *Raynal*, ad hunc annum, N° 4, and the nine first letters of the MS. of Cardinal *Marcellus Cervini*, published; tom. 4. of CARDINAL POLE's Letters, page 184.



Had the leisure this incident procured him, been the effect of his own choice, it could not have answered a purpose either more suited to the circumstance in which it happened, or more becoming the Personage he bore. "He employed it in composing a Work on the nature and end of General Councils, which he designed as a memorial for himself and his two Associates, of the duties they were to discharge in that, at which they were about to preside. He tells them however, they were to look on this Treatise rather as a rough draught, than a perfect Model of that magnificent Building, which was to be founded on Truth, and the superstructure raised by the Restoration of Discipline. He then premises a consideration of their obligations as Legates of the holy See; in which they had this in common with other Ambassadors, to set forth, with good faith, the commission they were charged with, and execute it with like fidelity and diligence: and as the first duty of the Pope's Legates to a General Council was to represent his Person who sent them, their chief concern should be to say and do nothing unbecoming that high character. He proceeds to shew, that a General Council is an aggregate of persons united in the same faith, and gathered from every nation, without any regard to those distinctions which divide mankind; where there is neither *Greek* nor *Barbarian*, but one People united in one Belief: and that this Collection is the People of God, whom JESUS CHRIST denotes by the name of *Church*; when he said to him, who first made profession of his being the Son of God, *I say unto thee, thou art a Rock, and on this Rock I will build my Church.* But that all who are united in this consent, and consequently belong to the Christian Society, cannot be Members of a General Council;



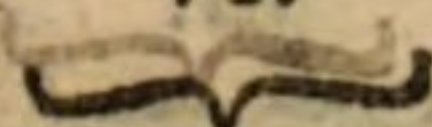
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VI.Rom. i.  
2 Thes.  
iii.

Heb. xiii.

cil; for, being multiplied, according to the divine Promises, as the sands of the sea-shore, they could not be summoned nor convened in the same place; both which necessarily enter into the notion of such a meeting. That, supposing the possibility of such an Assembly, the bulk of the People would have no share in defining, forbidding, or commanding what was enacted; the reason of which is, that the Church is not a Popular state, in which things are decided by the multitude; but a State, in which the People are to assent to and execute what is ordained by their Rulers. Thus St Paul, explaining the sum of his Embassy or Apostleship to the Heathen world, says it consisted in this, *that they should obey him*: and to the *Hebrews*, who were united to the new People of the Gentiles, and become a part of the Church, Obey, says he, *those who are placed over you, and shew all submission to them, because they are appointed to watch over you, as being accountable for your souls.*

“Neither did this plan constitute an Aristocracy, the form of the Church’s government being Regal: yet not so as to be subject to the dominion of one man, who bears universal sway, as in human Monarchies; but to the rule of one God and Man, JESUS CHRIST, the Lord of all, whom the Father has appointed Head over the whole Church; in which he has placed Pastors and Rulers to govern and feed it, in His, not in their own names, as it happens in earthly forms of Government, where a few, or one only bears sway. Now such an Assembly met to consult on the advantage of God’s People, is the General Council he treats of. Nor is the exclusion of the bulk of the people any reason for the Council not to be called General; because each Individual is at full liberty to propose what he conceives





ceives may be for his own advantage, or that of the whole: and the Council being lawfully called in the holy Ghost, it represents the universal Church, and meets on concerns which regard not single persons or nations, but the welfare of all who profess the faith of Christ, though spread over the face of the earth, and differenced by place, customs and manners.

“He then observes, that though the assistance of the divine Spirit had not been wanting to the *Hebrews*, yet its being granted to one particular people, their Assemblies were not General Councils, as the nation itself was rather a Synagogue than a Church. And as for the Heathen world being governed by a mere human spirit, no General Council, in the propriety of the phrase, could have been held by them, though the whole Race had assembled in the same place.” --- On this, the LEGATE makes the following ingenious remark on the Assembly of Mankind, after the Deluge in the plain of *Shinar*, when one said to another, *Come, let us build us a City, and a Tower, whose top may reach up to Heaven, and let us make us a name, before we are dispersed over the Earth.*

“This, says he, was the decree of this Council; and though the Decree was annulled by Almighty God, and the enterprize begun in consequence of it, brought to nothing, yet the purpose remained fixed in the mind of mankind, till the effusion of the holy Spirit; and each one who is not regenerated in Him, still holds the same language, and endeavours, to the utmost of his power, to make it good.” --- Indeed the motto of Ambition is every where the same, and of a much more ancient date than that cited here by the CARDINAL, having been chosen by him, who first unhappily signalised himself in its cause; ASCENDAM.

*Isaiah xiv.*

“In 14.



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“In order to distinguish those Assemblies, whose decisions are guided by the holy Spirit, from others, the first and chief condition, says he, is, that they be summoned by lawful authority, with a view to the honour of God in CHRIST JESUS, and a regard to the general welfare of all, who, throughout the whole world, profess the Christian faith. If therefore the honour of one single person, or of many, or even the advantage of the whole human Race, if such a supposition can be made, should be intended, so as to exclude the honour of the Supreme Being, such a meeting would be nothing less than the Assembly we are treating of. Nor is it enough that the honour of God be intended in some particulars, or to such a certain point, but it must be the principal end of the deliberations. For this reason, these General Meetings treat of such things as regard the highest honour man can pay his Maker, which is CHRIST JESUS; and of the safety of his people in the same Saviour: That they acquitted themselves of this duty, by expounding and confirming the Faith in the Son of the living God, and ordering aright our love towards him. All which would appear more distinctly when he came to the nature of their Decrees, after having shewn who those were who presided, and assisted at the forming of them.

“The office of the Bishop of *Rome*, or the Pope, is that of Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, inasmuch as he is the chief of Shepherds, and the Bishop of our Souls; by which appellation he is stiled by *St Peter*. This office, or Magistracy, Almighty God was pleased to take on himself, as appears in the beautiful allegory under which he represents his tender care of mankind; where, after having entered on an endearing detail of all the functions of a good Shepherd, and shewn in what manner

*Ezekiel*  
xxxiv.  
*Isaiab*  
xlix.



manner he had fulfilled them, he concludes the Character he had assumed, by this last instance of care of his Flock: *I will set up one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my Servant David: he shall feed them, and he shall be their Shepherd; and I the Lord will be their God, and my Servant David a Prince among them: I the Lord have spoken it.*

The Writer goes on to remark, "That Almighty God vouchsafed to make good this gracious assurance, when he set over his Flock his blessed Son; for he exercised each distinct pastoral function, ascribed by *Ezekiel* to the Supreme Being; when he turned the evil Shepherds out of place; when he cast the buyers and sellers out of the Temple; when he pronounced a wo on those who had the key of knowledge, and yet neither entered themselves, nor suffered others to enter; when he declared them thieves and robbers; when he finally caused their habitation to be lain waste, and brought back his sheep from all the desert places into which they had been dispersed; when he healed the lame, the blind, and the dumb. He fed them peculiarly in mercy, when he declared he did not come into the world with an intent to condemn, but to save it; when he provided them with the most wholesome of all food, his own divine doctrine; when he caused them to sit in the beauty of peace, and bestowed such a peace on them as the world cannot give: and that the mansions in his Father's house, which, he says, are many, might be properly filled up, he did not confer the same gifts, nor assign to all the same posts of honour, but appointed some, Apostles; some, Prophets; others, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers; and bestowed variously the gifts of miracles, of healing, assisting, governing; of speaking divers languages, and



and expounding prophetic and dark speeches. This he still more evinced by sending, after his death, the holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and Him, that he might bring to their remembrance, and ratify whatever he had taught them during his mortal life.

“ This detail brings the LEGATE at length to the judiciary capacity attributed to the Son of God, as chief Shepherd of the Church; which he not only exercised in its full extent during his stay on earth, but invested his Ministers with the same. For though JESUS CHRIST be always present to his Flock, yet it is not by a visible and corporeal appearance; and his Flock, as the Prophet says, being us men, who are made up of a body and soul, we stand in need not only of that internal guidance, by which the mind is influenced and directed, but also of an outward and visible Legislature. And though he could have supplied all this, and in fact confers the efficacy and power by which it is performed, yet it became his Providence to establish a form of Government suited to the condition of things; and he was pleased there should be one chief Pastor in his stead. That *Peter* was the person thus appointed, to whom the care of the whole Flock was committed; who is CHRIST’S Vicegerent on earth, and since those who have succeeded to his See, and inherited his preeminence. Besides the passages of Scripture which evince this truth, when they are considered without prejudice, he remarks, “ That the Providence of Almighty God has been the clearest Commentary on these passages; and, by the event of things, attested this truth with the utmost perspicuity.” --- He then cites the texts, and dwells on the consequences which result from them, and in what sense they are applicable to *St Peter*; who, as Vice-



Vicegerent of the Son of God, exerted the office of "Father of the future age, of Guardian and Pastor of the Church, in the first Council held at *Jerusalem*."--- This part of the Treatise, without departing from the ease and familiar air which recommends the whole, is worked up with great strength, and must be looked on as a complete proof of the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Rome*: it is an effort, which, though adjusted by the nicest Rules of Art, commands the approbation of those who are ignorant of the principles to which they owe their pleasure.

He then shews, "That all General Councils have proceeded on the plan of that held in *Jerusalem*, both as to the decision of the controverted points, and the quality and rank of those who presided, and gave their opinion, and made the Decrees. For whereas in this, *Peter* declared to the Jewish and Gentile Converts, that is, to the whole Christian world, what was to be held in the point there contested; so, in all following ages, his Successors have been the last resort from whence Nations and Kingdoms have received the definitive sentence in the like debates. The Bishops likewise of particular Churches, and others to whom the care of souls is committed, have, in their respective jurisdictions, confirmed the doctrines of his See, as the other Apostles and Elders did in this first Assembly.

On this occasion he observes, "that the See of *Rome* is called the Apostolic See; and the Pope's Legates, the Legates of the same See: the signification of See being the same as Chair, and denoting a superior authority in teaching; as CHRIST's words import, when he speaks of those who sat on the chair of *Moses*, that is, who had authority to teach and interpret the divine Law, delivered in his writings; and commands an uni-

*Matthew*  
versal xiii.



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verfal deference to be paid to all their injunctions. In confequence of this, all General Councils, whose Decrees have been received by the Catholic Church, have acknowledged this Prerogative in the See of *Rome*. Some have declared it in exprefs terms; and none ever thought their Decrees would be received by the Faithful, unlefs they were confirmed by the Apostolical See. The event therefore of things, the consent of fo many Sovereigns, Nations, and General Councils, form a proof above all reply, that this was the will and design of God."

Having fpoken of the office of the different Orders of the Hierarchy in thefe meetings, he fets forth, with great diftinction and propriety, the part which *Constantine*, and other Christian Princes, have fufained in the fame occasions; and takes an opportunity of hinting fomewhat of what was expected from *Charles V.* in the approaching Council, at whose repeated instances it was fummoned. Here he enters on a difcuffion of the higheft importance to mankind; the duty of Sovereigns, and the principles on which it is grounded. He derives their power from an origin as honourable to themfelves, as falutary to thofe they govern; and which, though generally little attended to by thofe who hold it, can alone point out to them the extent of their obligations, and the means of filling up the measure of them; and fhews, that thefe cannot be duly difcharged, unlefs the Prince attends alfo to thofe of the Priesthood, which he exemplifies in *Constantine's* behaviour at the Council of *Nice* \*.

However foreign thefe and the like notions may appear to our manners and ways of thinking, it

\* Cui (i. e. regio muneris) neceffario adjunctum fuit Sacerdotalis virtutis donum; fine quo regium munus nunquam recte exerceri potest. *Polus de Concilio.*



it is not less true, that the aim of Princes should be to make good and virtuous Citizens, which is a higher end than the bare consideration of temporal benefits. Nature alone, if her dictates were listened to, teaches Man this excellent end of his Commonwealth, and to provide not only for what concerns the body, which he has in common with other creatures not endued with reason, but much more for the mind; and, above all, for the worship and service of that Supreme Being, who is the beginning and end of all things; whence it necessarily follows, that it should be the principal care of every Magistrate. This persuasion is so natural and universal, that all Antiquity, both Jewish and Pagan, have been influenced by it; and for many ages their Kings and chief Magistrates were likewise Priests; nor have the learned assigned a more satisfactory reason for the prerogative of *Birtbright*, so highly esteemed in all nations, than that it chiefly consisted in this, and annexed to the *First-born* the greatest of all dignities, and the sacred functions belonging to it †.

“After having treated of the different classes of persons who compose a Council, and the several parts allotted to each of them, he comes, in the last place, to the causes which had given occasion to that which was then called; and which, he says, were the same as had given occasion to all former Councils, the exposition of the tenets of the Church, the refutation of contrary errors, and the revival of decayed Discipline: That these causes were then urgent, as Heresies had increased, and the manners of the Christian world become so extremely corrupt, that he must apply

† *Genebrard*. l. 1. Chronol. de prima Ætate; et in *Gen.* 25. et 29. *Deut.* 21. 2 *Paral.* 21. See also Mr *Pope's* Note on ver. 563 of the third book of the *Odyssey*.



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apply to them what *Isaiab* said of the Jews, *The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.*

“ He then addresses himself to the Pope, to the Emperor, and other Princes; and, with a freedom becoming his Character, expresses himself in the following manner: “I am by no means of opinion that the chief Bishop, who represents the person of JESUS CHRIST, and is accustomed to preside as Judge in all Councils, should be subject to this which is going to be held, or to any Tribunal but his own. All I desire is, that he would pronounce sentence on himself, which alone can exempt him from human and divine blame; give weight to the sentence he passes on the faults of others; remove the dangers and evils with which the Church is now surrounded, and procure lasting peace and concord.

“ If the Heads of the Council would open it with this penitential spirit, and a thorough reformation of what regards themselves, there is no blessing but might be hoped from such an Assembly, in which the assistance of the holy Spirit would be present, with no less evidence than if he sat on the heads of the assembled Fathers in cloven tongues of fire. This advice, says he, is particularly suited to the times, in which there is such a general proneness to excuse ourselves, and transfer on others the subject of complaint. Thus the temporal Princes impute the evils which afflict Christianity to the Priesthood, and they again to the Lay Powers; and no one confesses himself in the fault. No contest can be more proud or hateful to God; and if we continue in it, the approaching Assembly, instead of procuring any good, will cause greater disturbances, and more incorrigible evils.

“ He concludes with reminding the Legates, that their hopes of a happy issue to the affair  
ought



ought chiefly to be grounded on the promises of JESUS CHRIST; and, among others, on his declaration to *St Peter*, “that though Satan had desired to destroy the Apostles, he had prayed for *him*, that *his* faith might not fail, and that *he* might confirm his Brethren.” On which he observes, that CHRIST, the Lord of all, by having recourse to prayer, as the only preservative which could defend the Church he had founded from destruction, had informed us to have recourse to the same, offered up in his name, and with his Spirit; not to the subtilty of human understanding; not to “the prudence of the flesh, which is at enmity with God;” not to temporal power, in which men are wont to place their chief trust: That this is a resource which brings with it all kind of succours; imparts a salutary influence to all we undertake; and, in the end, compels every thing to be subservient to the cause of Christianity. Here he proposes the admirable prayer of the Prophet *Daniel*, which he cites at length, as *Dan. ix.* a model to his Associates in their supplications; but adds this caution, that if they seek their own honour rather than that of Almighty God, and desire their private advantage preferable to that of his People, they are to avoid making use of *Daniel’s* words, or any other of the like import. If they do not desire the presence of the holy Spirit, they are not to join in the solemn hymn, by which the Council begins, and by which his aid is implored; but to fear lest, instead of the Creator and Comforter, they be visited by an exterminating spirit, such as God threatens to send those who called on him with a double heart, that is, a deceiver to liars, and a destroyer to destroyers. But, on the contrary, if the conditions he had put down were complied with, particularly the penitential spirit, and the



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Reformation of the Heads of the Clergy, the future Council might not only be compared to that of *Nice*, but even to that of *Jerusalem*, at which the Apostles themselves were present; as its influence would be more diffusive, and extend to the happiness of an infinitely greater number of people \*."

These are the chief heads of a Treatise, which, for perspicuity, good sense, and solid reasoning, is equal to the importance of the occasion on which it was written; and shews at once the reach and ease of the Author's genius, and the goodness of his heart. He has avoided all extreme opinions; and not discovered greater zeal for the Catholic Church, and the prerogative of the See of *Rome*, than candor, in representing the disorders which sullied one, and lessened the authority of the other. He seems to have considered the recalling the *Lutherans* in *Germany* to the Religion they had forsaken, and the restoration of decayed Discipline in all Orders, as the principal reason for summoning the Council, and the end to which its deliberations and decrees should particularly be referred. He had frequently and seriously weighed the subject here treated; but the composition was the work of his leisure, during the month he staid at *Rome*, when the other two Legates, to whom it is inscribed, were at *Trent*. *Paul Manutius* the younger published this useful Performance a few years after the Author's death, and dedicated it to *Pius IV.* of the *Medicean* family. The Preface, which is taken up with an enumeration of the qualities which distinguished the CARDINAL, is long, and one of the most elegant compositions in the *Latin* tongue.

1562.

\* This Work is inserted by *Phil. Labbe*, among the *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.* Paris, 1667.



The Legates *del Monte* and *Cervini* arrived, as has been said, at *Trent* on the beginning of *March*, and CARDINAL POLE followed them within a month. They were charged with no particular orders in writing, the Pope thinking it sufficient to let them have their instructions when they were about to open the Council; which did not happen till nine months after. Their Credentials set forth, "That the Pope sent them to *Trent*, as Angels of Peace, to preside at the Council, to make whatever decrees they judged necessary for the good of the Church; and to publish them, as was customary, during the sessions: to propose, conclude, and execute whatever they thought proper to extirpate errors, recal the people to the obedience of the holy See, re-establish ecclesiastical Liberty, reform the Church in all its Members, procure Peace between Christian Princes, and ordain whatever was expedient for the honour of Almighty God, and the propagation of the holy Faith; and repress, by censures and ecclesiastical punishments, the refractory and rebellious, of what condition soever.

It had been resolved at *Rome* to restrain the power of the Legates by a clause, that they should do nothing but with the consent of the Council; but on their remonstrating that this would straiten their Commission beyond what was fitting, and desiring it might be left out, their Petition was granted. By a subsequent Decree they were authorised, in case they did not find proper accommodations in *Trent*, for holding the Council, to transfer it to any other place of greater freedom and safety. Cardinal *Farnese*, passing through the City about this time, in his way to *Worms*, the Legates having conferred with him, signified to the Pope, that his reputation was concerned in holding the Council with a



## THE HISTORY OF THE

dignity suitable to so august an Assembly; that several of the Bishops were unprovided of necessities; and that it would be proper to appoint a Treasurer, with a fund sufficient to answer their exigencies.

*Didacus Mendoza*, the Emperor's Ambassador, was already come to *Trent*, and had been received with great solemnity; and not long after, one arrived on the part of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. *Mendoza* insisted on having precedence of the Bishop of *Trent*, as he represented the Emperor, and consequently was only to give place to the Legates, who represented the Pope, next to whom his Master held the first rank among the Potentates. This contest produced no inconvenience; and an expedient was found to place them both in such a manner, as neither might seem to have the higher place. But the Ceremonial which another Ambassador of the same nation claimed, towards the end of the Council, was not so easily adjusted. I should not think it worth the Reader's while to be detained with such incidents, were it not to observe from what unthought-of trifles the most serious affairs are threatened with disappointment. The Count of *Luna*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, had an extraordinary place assigned him, because he would not rank below the Ambassadors of *France*, who insisted on being seated next to the Emperor's. *De Luna* entered his protest against this proceeding; and the contest was carried on with such animosity, that the *French*, who were informed that the Pope favoured the pretensions of the *Spaniard*, declared publicly they would leave the place, and provide for the affairs of Religion by a national Synod. The matter was compromised, and the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors agreed



to appear alternately on public occasions, and so avoid any future strife. SECT.  
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To return to the business of the Council.---

*Mendoza* assured the Legates, at the public Audience which was given him in the great hall of *del Monte's* Palace, "of the Emperor's desire to assist in person at the Council, and excused him on his infirmities, and the affairs which required his presence elsewhere. He spoke of his zeal for summoning the Assembly; and of the involuntary obstacles which had hitherto retarded it, and of the orders he had given the *Spanish* Bishops to set out with all expedition; and assured the Legates, they were already on the road. He made an apology for his own indispositions, which had retarded his arrival for some days; and caused his Credentials to be read. The next day the Legates gave him a second Audience, and told him, they had great confidence in the Emperor's Piety, and hoped he would refer all he did to the advancement of Religion.

*Francis I.* King of *France*, wrote likewise to the Fathers, to notify to them, that as his Ambassadors could not set out immediately, he was desirous to assure them of his veneration; and his readiness to concur in whatever measures they should judge necessary for the good of Christianity. The letter was read in full Assembly, and received with great joy and applause by all who were present. The King's letter to the Legates was not less obliging, as appears by *CARDINAL POLE's* answer. These letters were sent by three Religious men, whom the King recommends to the Council, for their learning and virtue †.

This behaviour of two Princes, who had then

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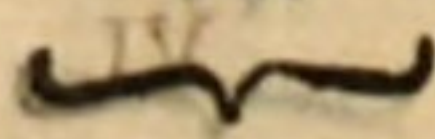
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† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 30.



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the lead in the affairs of *Europe*, may recal to the learned Reader the respect which the great *Constantine* shewed to the Bishops at the Council of *Nice*. He had requested them to meet in that City from different Provinces of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, by letters full of respect, and had provided them, and all who came with them, with carriages and every other convenience. He arrived at the city the day before the Council was opened, and came into it, without his Guards, attended only by a few of his Court, who were all Christians. His eyes cast down, and the modesty of his whole behaviour, testified the awe he was under at appearing in so venerable an Assembly. He desired the Fathers, who rose up at his entrance, to take their seats; and remained standing himself, till they desired him to sit. After a discourse addressed to him by one of them, he waited to return an answer, till he had their leave; and every thing, even the tone of his voice, indicated the like dispositions. A solemn banquet which he gave on the conclusion of the Council, which coincided with the twentieth year of his reign, was to denote, that he esteemed the victory gained over *Arius*, no less glorious than that which had assured the Empire to himself. He would have all the Fathers, who were above three hundred, partake of the entertainment, and placed the most illustrious on each side of his person. He kissed, with reverence, the scars which several bore about them, of torments suffered in the last persecutions; some of whom had one or both eyes plucked out, or their limbs maimed: and when they took leave of him, on their return to their respective homes, he gave them proofs of his royal munificence; and, in the most endearing terms, recommended to them mutual

History excepted  
the only instance I am acquainted with, Mr. Hook's Roman  
of which that Author's Works are  
with an accuracy,



mutual unity, as the chief badge of their profession \*.

What I have hitherto related, was only a prelude to the Council, and passed several months before it began. But on the 13th of *December*, the Legates made their public entry into *Trent*, accompanied by Cardinal *Madrucci*, Bishop of the city; after which they opened the Council. There were present four Archbishops, twenty two Bishops, five Generals of Orders, the Ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of the *Romans*: those of the *French* nation had been recalled. A general Fast had been observed the day before, and public prayers ordered at *Trent* and *Rome*; and a Jubile granted to engage the Faithful to implore the blessing and guidance of Heaven on the Fathers assembled on such an occasion.

The sudden dissolution of the Council two years before, and the seeming reluctance and delays with which the Pope had now summoned it again, made the Legates apprehend that the same irresolution might a second time defeat a measure, of which every one saw the necessity; and they resolved to omit nothing on their part, which might encourage the Pope to lay aside all other considerations, but such as became his character and the exigencies of the times. As soon therefore as the Council was opened, the *English* LEGATE writ to him in his own and his Associates names, "to exhort him to exert all his paternal care in bringing what was begun to a happy issue. He informs him of several rumours, which were industriously spread by those who  
D d 4 desired

\* See *Tillemont's* Memoirs, tom. 6. where this subject is treated with an accuracy, of which that Author's Works are the only instance I am acquainted with, Mr *Hooke's* Roman History excepted.



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desired the present effort to reform the Church, might prove as fruitless as the former. They objected the unseasonableness of such an undertaking; and, like those who opposed the rebuilding of the Temple, had always in their mouths, that *the time was not yet come*. He reminds him of what the Prophets replied to the High Priest *Josedech*, when they shewed the People the ruins of the former Temple, in order to stir up the zeal of those who were touched with the remembrance of its ancient splendor, and assured him, on the part of the Almighty, that he would prosper his undertaking. He concludes by intreating the Pope, if any reports were invidiously set about, concerning his and his Colleagues behaviour, which were less pleasing to his Holiness, he would rest satisfied that they had hitherto acted with candor and integrity, and should never forget the respect they owed him, as the common Father of Christendom †.”

1546.

The first general Congregation was held on the 18th of *December*, five days after the opening the Council; and the Legates requested that the nomination of the Officers might be made at *Rome*; to which the Fathers consented: and, in another held on the 29th, both a deliberative and a decisive voice was allowed to Abbots, who were Heads of Orders. On the 5th of *January*, Cardinal *del Monte*, the President, proposed in a general Congregation, that separate Committees should be appointed to discuss the different matters which were to be debated; and persons named to draw up what had been resolved, on which each one might give his opinion in the general Meetings. That there might be an entire liberty in voting, the Legates were to propose the matters simply, and not give their opinion

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 35.



opinion till the Sessions, where the questions were finally to be decided. This regulation passed by a plurality of votes, and with it the first Session ended.

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The second, which was more numerous than the former, was held two days after; in which it was resolved, that the Council should only take the title of *Sacred and Oecumenical*, or *Universal*, contrary to their opinion, who would have declared it *to represent the Universal Church*; which debate was frequently renewed during the following Sessions. An order was likewise read from the Pope, by which the Proxies of those who were absent, were declared incapable of voting; and that the Ranks assigned in the Council should not prejudice any one's right. By a Committee of the 22d of the same month, it was agreed, that matters relating to Faith and the Reformation of manners, should be jointly treated of; and, on the 29th, the Prelates were divided into three classes, which were to confer with the Legates, before they proposed to the general Conventions what they had deliberated on in the Committees.

The third Session, held on the 3d of *February*, was taken up in reading the Symbol, or Profession of Faith; and in the fourth, which was held five days after, a Decree passed concerning the Canonical books of Scripture, and the authority of Tradition; and another, by which the *Latin* edition, called *the Vulgate*, was declared authentic\*. Cardinal *Pacheco* proposed, in a general Convention of the 17th of the following *March*, that all Translations of the Scriptures into modern languages should be prohibited. The prodigious abuse of the Word of God, and the licentiousness with which every one perverted it accord-

\* See Appendix, No. III.



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according to his own fancy, gave occasion to this motion: but Cardinal *Madrucci* represented, that *Germany* was highly offended at the bare report of such a proposition; and nothing more was said on the subject.

I am very sensible the generality of this nation is so far prejudiced against *Pacheco's* opinion, as to condemn the Catholic Church, for having ever withheld a full liberty on this head. But, without taking on myself to decide on either side of the question, I shall briefly propose what may be alledged to justify this restraint. And, first, in times so distant from the faith and teachable disposition of the primitive Christians, it may perhaps not be expedient to put indifferently in the hands of all the world those sacred Oracles, of which God has given the understanding to pure souls; and which the ignorant, according to *St Peter*, *wrest to their own destruction*. It may be further urged, that it is inherent to low minds to undervalue what they have always before their eyes, and to reverence what is less obvious: That the wisest nations have always removed the Mysteries of Religion from the approaches of the Vulgar; and JESUS CHRIST himself, who is the Wisdom of God, had so often spoke in parables, to conceal from gross understandings what he designed to reveal in particular to his Disciples; that in the Old and New Testament, there are several passages which require great attention, knowledge, and sobriety of thought, and which it were better to leave in the learned languages: for otherwise they become a means of seduction to carnal men, who do not understand the things that are of God; and to proud and presumptuous spirits, who imagine they understand what they are ignorant of.

In



In the following Session, which was the fifth, and was held on the 17th of *June*, the Council made two Decrees; one of which regarded Faith; the other, Discipline. The former explains the

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Doctrine of Original Sin; which takes up five canons, and condemns the different Heresies which have been advanced concerning it. This point had been discussed in a great detail, in several Congregations, and naturally brought on the question of the condition of children who die without baptism. The Fathers leave a liberty of opinion on this head, without condemning those who hold, they are deprived of the sight of God, and not subject to any other punishment; and, at the end of the Article, they declare it is not their intention to include the blessed and spotless Virgin, *Mary*, Mother of God, in the decree which declares all mankind to be conceived in sin.

The other Decree of this Session, which relates to the Reformation of manners, orders that there shall be Readers of Theology, not only in Metropolitan, but in Cathedral Churches, and in Monasteries: and impowers Bishops, as Delegates of the holy See, to take care that these Lectures be established in the latter places. The second chapter of the Decree enjoins all Bishops, Parish Priests, and others, who have the care of souls, to preach the holy Gospel to the people committed to their charge. This important office is allowed likewise to Religious persons, who are approved by the Bishop, in their respective Churches; but not elsewhere, without his licence: and in order to prevent for the future the abuses which avarice had introduced, the Collectors of alms are universally excluded from this function. The Ecclesiastical Judge is authorised to compel such as are refractory, by depriving them



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them of the fruits of their benefices. -- Cardinal *Pallavicini* observes, that this is the first time that Bishops are mentioned as *Delegates of the holy See*; which stile was of great use during the sequel of the Council, when any thing was to be granted to the Episcopal Order, without lessening the Papal authority. --- Nine Archbishops and forty nine Bishops were present at this Sessions.

The multiplicity and importance of these affairs did not hinder the *English* LEGATE from lending himself to his Friends, with the same freedom and unreservedness, as if he had no other concern but to oblige and be useful to them. This will appear in the following instance. *Cochleus* desired his opinion of a Work in which he seemed to disapprove the modern custom of not giving the Eucharist to children; and though the Author had the authority of several of the Ancients, who shew this to have formerly been the practice, yet he doubted whether, the circumstances of the times considered, it would not be more advisable to suppress what he had written on that head. To which the CARDINAL replies, "That as to the practice in question, he agreed with him with respect to the *Greeks*, who still retain the custom of giving the Eucharist to infants, immediately after baptism; this he gathers from a passage of those Works, which then passed under the name of the *Areopagite*, which makes this custom very ancient; though the *Latins* understood the passage not of Children, but the Adult."

The conclusion of this letter is too judicious, and conveys too useful an instruction, not to be put down at length. "That supposing the fact was decided on which side he pleased; allowing also, that some remains of this practice might be traced



traced in *Latin* Writers of good note, as he made no doubt but there might; yet great caution was to be used, as *Cockleus* himself very prudently observed, lest by undertaking a cause, in which there was little prospect of success, how well soever he was affected to it; he might, contrary to his inclination, greatly injure the Church of *Rome*, which was not favourable to the side he maintained. For if the practice was of that necessity, which his writings insinuated, its omission could not be excused from great ignorance or neglect. That he perceived a reverence for this Mother-Church, was what alone hindered him from publishing the Work; and that he could not sufficiently commend his piety; of which he had already given such substantial proofs in what he had done to support her authority, and place it in the most advantageous light."

The same person having read the Decree which the Council had lately passed concerning the Symbol, had remarked with singular satisfaction, that it explicitly declared the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Son, which had not been expressed in the Council of *Nice*. On which occasion he desires the CARDINAL, to inform him of the time when the addition concerning the holy Spirit's proceeding from the Son was inserted; and thinks he has somewhere read, that the Church of *Rome* had been accustomed to repeat the Symbol in this manner before the *Nicene* Council. To which the LEGATE replies, "That he did not recollect to have any where met with this reading; but that in a letter of Pope *Damasus* to *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, there was mention of a Synod held at *Rome*, immediately after that of *Nice*, in which some things were added concerning the Holy Ghost, which had not been explained in the former: and that  
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this was done to condemn their error, who asserted the Holy Ghost to have been created by the Son: and he supposes this letter may have given occasion to *Cockleus's* mistake. He adds, That this clause was not used before the first Council of *Ephesus*; on which *St Thomas* observes \*, That the *Nestorian* Heresy, which was there condemned, had moved the Fathers to add this explanation: and though this be the first Council in which it is found, yet it is not inserted in the Symbol; but the Fathers, in a letter to *Nestorius*, declare, “That the third Person of the Trinity proceeds from the Father and the Son.”

“He goes on to remark, that *St Thomas* says, this addition was inserted by a Synod which he does not name, held in the West, and approved by the Pope; which the CARDINAL takes to be the first Council of *Toledo*, where the Symbol is read with this addition: That it was assembled when the *Nestorian* Heresy chiefly prevailed; was very ancient; and, as far as he could collect, from the Monuments of the Councils, prior to that of *Calcedon*. This, says he, is what occurs to me of the time in which the Holy Ghost's proceeding from the Son, was added to the Symbol.”

But *Cockleus* had furthermore signified his surprise, that it could be warrantable to make this addition, after the Council of *Nice*, and that of *Ephesus*, had expressly ordered that nothing should be added to it. “This objection, replies the LEGATE, is made by the *Greeks* to the *Latin* Church; and the answer, he says, is ready; That this addition does not vary the sense of the *Nicene* Symbol, but only illustrates what is there declared: for, had the case been otherwise, the Fathers

\* In N.



thers could never have forgotten themselves so far, as in the same Council to forbid any thing to be added to a Symbol, and yet declare themselves, with the greatest perspicuity, on a point on which that was silent. This sufficiently proves that the addition was made, not as a new tenet, but a more explicit profession of the ancient Faith, which had never varied; and to obviate the errors of *Nestorius*, who denied the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son."

A third doubt still remained, in which the CARDINAL was desired to satisfy his friend. This related to the *Athanasian* Creed, as the *Latin* Church repeats it; which, though very clear in the point here debated, was not alledged in the Council of *Florence*, though many other testimonies were cited from the *Greek* Writers, which prove their ancient Doctors to have held, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son no less than from the Father, which the modern *Greeks* there denied. The CARDINAL tells him, "he had not been aware of this objection, but that he took the cause of the omission to be what *Cochleus* mentioned: That the *Greeks* would have replied to this argument, had it been brought against them, that the declaration there made had been added to the Symbol: That this was their present plea; for having asked an Archbishop of that nation, who came a few days since to the Council, from the Island of *Naxos*, what their opinion was about this matter, his answer was, That they flatly denied this addition to be in the ancient copies of the *Athanasian* Creed. The fact, adds the CARDINAL, appears to me very probable, as that holy Doctor wrote immediately after the Council of *Nice*, at a time when no doubt had been raised of the article here in question. He seems therefore clear, that this addition to the  
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*Athanasian* Creed, which was read in many Churches, was afterwards inserted on the same motive which had induced the Fathers to insert it into that of *Constantinople*, which is recited at the celebration of the sacred Mysteries \*.

All this he writ on the mere strength of his memory, without any assistance from books †. The high esteem he was held in by so able a Judge as the person who applied for his advice and information, would alone be sufficient to establish a character. I have had occasion to say something of him in another part of this History, from *Thuanus*; and shall only here observe, that besides other smaller Treatises, and the History of the *Hussites*, he published two very considerable Works; one of *Luther's* Contradictions and Inconstancy; the other, of his Actions and Writings, which is almost a Diary of his Life. He had taken great pains to be informed of the particulars which make up this accurate Performance; and made them public, that this Reformer's pretensions to be believed and followed by a deluded people, might be tried by the whole tenor of his conduct and doctrine.

To go back to the Council.--The mutual concord of the three Legates since the opening of it, which was now something more than a year, had been remarkable; and the high esteem in which the *English* CARDINAL was held by all. "Of this, says *Becatelli*, I can cite myself as a witness, having served them several months in quality of Secretary ||." At the conclusion of the fifth Session, an indisposition obliged him to leave *Trent*, and exchange the sharpness of that air, for the tem-

\* *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 5, et seq.

† *Habes ergo ad omnia, quantum memoriâ ipsâ colligere potui, quæ aliquando de hac quæstione legi. Ibid. p. 11.*

|| *Vita Poli*, fol. 17.



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temperature of that of *Padua*, of which he had always found the favourable influence, and where there was choice of eminent Physicians. He had likewise the convenience of an agreeable country-seat, called *Trevilla*, in the neighbourhood of that city, which belonged to his friend *Priuli*; from whence, soon after his arrival, he wrote the following letter to his Collegues. "All the information I can give your Lordships of my health, since I left *Trent*, is, that it seems rather better than worse: not that my pains have ceased, but they are less acute, and I have passed three nights without being obliged to leave my bed. The exercise I take, either of riding or in a vehicle, is of greater use to me than any thing besides. Yesterday I had two Physicians from *Padua*; who, after consulting at leisure on my case, declared, if I did not take great care of myself, I was in danger of a stroke of the Palsy. They have left their opinion in writing, which I am to send to *Fracastorio* \*, that he may give his advice; which, as soon as I receive, I shall be in a condition to judge what course I ought to take; and will not fail to give your Lordships an account of every thing that concerns me, by the Abbé of *San-Saluté*, whom I shall send to *Trent*, to make my compliments to Cardinal *Farnese*, as he

\* He was not less famous for his excellence in Poetry than his skill in Physic. His *Siphilis* is one of the most finished compositions, either of the elegant age he lived in, or of any other. The City of *Verona*, of which he was a native, and had been a principal Ornament, erected a Statue to his memory, with this inscription;

HIERONYMO FRACASTORIO,

PAULI PHILIPPI F.

Ex Publicâ Autoritate,

Anno MDLIX.

*Thuanus Hist. l. 4.*



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he passes through that city \*.” A few weeks after, he writ to them again, as follows: “Your Lordships letters are a powerful inducement to me to return back to *Trent*, besides that motive which should have more weight with me than any other consideration, his Holiness’s pleasure, which he has signified to me by my Lord Chamberlain. But I am in a worse state of health than I have yet been; and besides the complaint of my arm, which is become more painful, I have also that of my left shoulder, and eye, which is greatly affected. As I perceive the disorders I labour under increase, and his Holiness refers me to you, to know his pleasure concerning the measures I am to take, I have sent the Abbé to inform you of my present condition. The Physicians affirm, if I go again to *Trent*, I expose myself to the risk of being lame for life; which can answer no purpose: but, supposing it could, his Holiness’s meaning can never be, that I should serve him on such terms. For these reasons, I would not take upon me to go to *Padua*, nor put myself into the hands of the Physicians, till I understood more clearly what his orders were; and therefore am about to dispatch the Abbé, with all expedition to *Rome*, to inform him of the whole state of my affairs, that, at his return, I may, without any tergiversation, comport myself as it shall please him to command me †.”

The two other Legates likewise desired his interest with several Prelates, who, on account of their health, were at *Padua*, or in the neighbourhood of *Trevilla*, where he was, to prevail on them to return to the Council. “I have used my endeavours, says he, in his answer, with the  
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\* Epist. R. Poli, pars 4. pag. 189.

† Ibid. pag. 193.



Prelates who have been with me, to have them comply with your Lordships desire; and they all seem disposed to do so. I speak of those who are on the recovery: but they put off their departure, till some urgent cause requires their presence, such as the next Session of the Council, when it is resolved on; or to deliberate on transferring the Council to some other city \*.” For now a report prevailed of a contagious distemper being broken out at *Trent*; the country round swarmed with *Lutheran* Troops; and the Emperor and the Court of *Rome* began to be on ill terms. These reasons caused the Pope to desire the Council might be transferred to a place of greater security and freedom, and to be earnest for the *English* LEGATE’s return, as his influence and credit were of great weight, and the Pontiff thought he might rely on them. 9th Sept. 1546.

I have dwelt longer on the incidents which attended the LEGATE’s leaving *Trent*, than may seem necessary; because some of the Reformers have asserted, that his real motive for so doing was to avoid being present at the Decree concerning Justification, which was to pass in the following Session; and in which, say they, he widely differed from his Colleagues and the other Fathers. But the letters I have cited, and many more, which witness how much his return was desired, shew at the same time, they so little apprehended his opinion would interfere with theirs in framing this Decree, that they were persuaded of the singular use his presence would have been to them.

But nothing can prove with greater evidence that the LEGATE’s sentiments concerning this point, agreed with what the Council of *Trent* has

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\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 4. pag. 197.



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has defined on it, than the following extract from one of his letters. "Let us examine, says he, the other articles, on which the *German* accuses me. He objects, in the first place, that I am informed of the Truth of the Gospel, particularly of what regards Justification; but have taken great pains to conceal it from the *Italians*. If by this Truth, in which he will have me to know, he means that we are justified by Faith alone without Works, I readily grant that I am acquainted with this Doctrine; but I did not learn it in their Schools, or from their Interpreters. I have received it from the Apostle *St Paul*, as he is expounded by the Catholic Church. Yet, even this did not give me a clear perception of it, till the Apostle *St James*, and the Exposition of the same Church, had informed me that we were likewise justified by Works. Those, on the contrary, who dissent from us, say, they too have learned what the Apostle teaches concerning this Article, but refuse to hearken to the Church's voice, and to enter into the meaning of *St James*, who, in order to prove that we are justified by Works, makes use of the same example of *Abraham*, which *St Paul* had alledged to shew this to be effected by Faith. Whilst therefore they listen to one authority, and set aside the other, they understand neither; but divide what the Church unites, separate themselves from her communion, and employ that doctrine to raise feuds and dissensions, which was designed to conciliate peace between God and man. As for myself, who have been instructed by the Church's interpretation to join these authorities, I continue in her communion, and reap great profit from each passage of the two Apostles. Our Adversaries would reap the same advantage, did they pay a deference to the same authority, and rely



on that foundation which is the base of Truth. That this at length may be their case, we are constantly to supplicate the Almighty; as indeed we do †." SECT.  
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Whilst the LEGATE was at *Trevilla*, the French Ambassadors returned to *Trent*, and were placed in the Council below those of the Emperor. The Pope also had sent thither *Laines* and *Salmeron*, to assist in quality of his Divines. They were two of the first Associates of *Ignatius Loyola*, who was now forming an Institute; which, at different times and places, has met with the greatest success, and sharpest opposition; and been the theme of as much praise and obloquy, as were ever bestowed on the most distant extremes.

In the next General Assembly the Fathers entered on the subject of Justification; which, as a Prelate wrote to the Legates from *Ratisbon*, "had been the fatal stumbling-block to Germany." This Article takes in the means by which Man is intitled to the favour of his Maker, and to those blessings which are the consequence of it: and there is no point of the Christian belief, from which the errors and fanaticism of those times had deviated into so many impious absurdities. To the original wanderings of *Luther* and *Calvin*, their Disciples, who had forsaken their Leaders with the same licentiousness which induced them to leave the Catholic Church, had added endless contentions which they fell into among themselves. It was an object therefore worthy the peculiar attention of the Council, to ascertain the Christian Doctrine concerning so important a point, in which Morality was no less interested than Faith; and to inform the world, that the Catholic

17th July.  
*Verallo*,  
Bishop of  
*Rossano*.

E e 3

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 150. ex Epistolâ ad Card. *August*.



tholic Church was alike exempt from those daring and senseless extremes, by which Religion is not more violated than Reason.

The matter being proposed in the Council, it was debated with such warmth by two of the Prelates, that one of them forgot himself so far, as to strike the other: on which the Fathers ordered the Offender to leave *Trent*, and return no more; and to throw himself at the Pope's feet, and ask pardon for his transgression: but the Pope permitted the Legates to absolve, and send him to his Diocese. The subject which was now before the Assembly, had been sufficiently examined in special Committees; and, in a general Meeting of the 17th of *July*, a plan was drawn up of what had been agreed on. But before the Fathers held the Session, in which they were to pass the definitive sentence, so great was their deference to CARDINAL POLE, that they sent him the result of their Resolutions, with the amendments, in order to have his opinion before they passed the decree. On this He writ to the Legates in the manner following: "I have received a Copy of the Decree concerning Justification, on which your Lordships are pleased to ask my opinion: and, to be sincere, I do not see what I can say on the subject, as it contains many things on which I should desire an explanation, which, being absent, I cannot have. Besides, I am too much out of order to be in a condition to think, much less to write on a matter of such importance. Nevertheless, to shew my deference to your Lordships, and, at the same time, comply with my duty, I will not fail to revise and examine it, in the best manner I am able; and to let your Lordships have my sentiments by a person I shall intrust in the whole affair, and send to you. This I hope



to do in a few days; and therefore shall say nothing of it at present \*.” Accordingly, four days after, he dispatched a Doctor of Divinity, with whom he was particularly acquainted, to inform them of what had occurred to him on the Decree; and the Legates, in their answer, assured him of the satisfaction they had received from what *Moriglia* had communicated to them.

The Council having received, in *October*, CARDINAL POLE's remarks, with the further explications he had judged proper should be made, proceeded, on the 13th of *January* of the following year, to the sixth Session; in which they define what Faith teaches concerning Justification and good Works. This Decree takes in sixteen short chapters, which declare the Catholic Doctrine on this Article; and thirty three Canons, in which the contrary errors and their abettors are condemned.

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The System here laid down has been looked on as very luminous and comprehensive; and equal to any plan of Doctrine of former Councils, or of any other Writings. The precision, order and perspicuity, with which it is delivered, have likewise been the admiration of all, who have read it with attention, and weighed the different positions, the principles on which they are grounded, their connection, and the whole sum of Doctrine which results from them. I shall present the Reader with the heads only of the Chapters, as he may consult the Original; and a longer detail would not suit this place.

After a brief Introduction, wherein the Fathers set forth the necessity they lay under, for the glory of God, the tranquillity of the Church,

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and

\* Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 199, et 201.



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and the salvation of Souls, to publish to all the Faithful the Doctrine concerning Justification; such as JESUS CHRIST, “the Sun of righteousness, and the Author and Finisher of our faith” has taught; the Apostles delivered down; and the Catholic Church, through the inspiration of the holy Spirit, always maintained. They begin the Decree by declaring the insufficiency of human Reason, and of the Mosaical Law, in order to Justification, and the necessity of the Incarnation of JESUS CHRIST. They declare who those are who are justified by him: They describe the Justification of a Sinner, and shew in what it consists: They establish the obligation which those, who have attained the use of reason, lie under of disposing themselves to it; and expound what these preparatory dispositions are. They enter on the nature and cause of Justification, which they teach to be gratuitous, that is, voluntary on the part of God, without any claim or merit of man. They expound in what sense the wicked are understood to be gratuitously justified by Faith: They oppugn the presumptuous confidence of Heretics, and descend to a detail of the means by which righteousness is increased: They assert the possibility of observing the Commandments, and the duty of so doing. They condemn a vain and rash Presumption of Salvation; and treat of the gift of Perseverance, of relapsing into Sin, and the Remedy; and shew, that deadly sin causes the delinquent to forfeit his Grace or Favour with God, but not his Faith in him. Lastly, They explain the necessity of good Works, and in what their merit consists.

This Decree, as it now stands, was found, as has been observed elsewhere, among the CARDINAL's Papers, and published, with some other Writings of his, by his Chamberlain *Pening*. It was



was written at full length, in his own hand; and furnishes a strong presumption, that the Fathers of the Council judged the form in which they drew up this important Article, with the alterations he proposed, the most proper to define, to confirm, and explain the Truths contained in it. Nor can any instance do more honour to his memory, than that the whole Catholic Church should consider him as a particular Instrument of the divine Spirit, in declaring a doctrine so much contradicted by the Innovators, and on which so venerable a body as the Council of *Trent* should defer to his opinion, with such a signification of their esteem.

Soon after he had returned the Copy of the above-mentioned Decree to the Legates, he signified to them, "That the Pope having given him leave to go to *Rome*, he should set out immediately, as they would be more amply informed by his friend, the Lord *Priuli*, whom he had sent to *Trent*, to wait on them in his name. That they might be assured of his readiness to be of service to them on all occasions, either with the Pope or others; and that he besought the Almighty to prosper what they were carrying on to his glory." Shortly after, being come to *Rome*, he informs them, "That he had lain before his Holiness every thing they had charged him with; and represented how deserving they were of those marks of esteem and good-will, to which an approved fidelity, parts, and diligence in the public cause are intitled; and which made their demands rather an act of justice than favour. That as yet the Pope had only testified the highest satisfaction at their conduct, without entering on any particulars as to what they requested of him: but that he would not fail, on every opportunity, to be a Solicitor in



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 VI. on the like occasion, desire and expect from  
 them \*."

The Decree concerning Justification being passed in this manner, the Fathers proceeded to what regarded Discipline and a Reformation of Manners; and fixed the residence of Bishops and the inferior Clergy, which require it either by law or custom. It had been proposed in a Committee, where this matter was debated, to define whether such residence was of divine right, or not: but the Pope, to whom the Legates communicated whatever passed in the Council, opposed this decision. However, in a Consistory  
 18th Feb. held soon after, he made a Decree, by which the Cardinals are declared subject to it, and those who had two Bishopricks, obliged to resign one. The Council subjects the secular and regular Clergy to the correction of their respective Bishops, and regulates the manner in which the visitation of Chapters of Cathedral and other Churches is to be made by the Ordinary; and concludes, by forbidding Bishops to perform any Episcopal function out of their Jurisdiction.

It took up a considerable time to prepare the matter of the seventh Session, on account of the difficulties which occurred in explaining the doctrine of the Sacraments in general, which was to be the subject of it; and the Reformation of manners, which the *Spanish* Bishops, and all who were attached to the Emperor, were resolved to insist on with the utmost vigour. The Pope being consulted, returned answer to the Legates, not to enter on any particular explanation of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, but only to publish the Canons or Rule which defines what  
 is

\* Epist. Reginaldi Poli, pars 4. pag. 201, 202.



is to be held concerning them, as they had done in treating of Original Sin. In consequence of these directions, thirty Canons, and the Decree of Discipline, which contained fifteen chapters, were read and approved by the Council. The latter regulates the election of the Bishops, and other beneficed Clergymen, and forbids holding above one Bishoprick; treats of the incompatibility of benefices, and the method of proceeding against those, who, on what title soever, hold such as are incompatible; and of the union of such benefices made within the last forty years, if any fraud was used to obtain it. The Council orders perpetual Vicars to be placed in those, which have the care of souls annexed to them, and have always been united to Cathedral or other Churches, or to any other religious foundations; and provides for whatever belongs to the visitation and repair of sacred Edifices, to the consecration of Prelates, and the authority of Chapters during the vacancy of the See. It restrains dispensations of being promoted to holy Orders by any indeterminate Prelate, and prescribes the examination of all persons presented to benefices, to be made by the Diocesan. The Decree concludes with the cognisance of civil causes, in which privileged persons are concerned; and the Jurisdiction over Hospitals, which the Council assigns to the Ordinary.

The Session being over, the removal from *Trent* to some other place, for the reasons already mentioned, became the object of the Fathers consideration: and in the eighth Session, which was held on the 11th of *March*, it was carried by a majority of thirty eight against seventeen. The Legates had caused the commission to be read, by which they were empowered to take this step, and declared their motives for so doing, and proposed



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posed *Bologna*; which being assented to by so great a majority, they adjourned to the 21st of *April*. Nothing more was then done; and, on the next day, the Prelates, who had agreed to the motion, set out for that city. This proceeding, as *Pallavicini* relates, so irritated the Emperor, that, in a passionate speech, he said, "The Pope was an obstinate old man, who would ruin the Church." Those who opposed this measure, were the *Spanish* Bishops and other Subjects of the Emperor, on a pretence that the Council would no longer be free, as *Bologna* was subject to the Pope; and that those of the *Germanic* Body, who had embraced *Lutheranism*, and had hitherto been hindered by their Diets, would no longer think of coming at all. Their Deputies had promised, at a general Meeting lately held at *Augsburg*, to submit to the Council, provided it was held at *Trent*, and all matters in debate were decided by the Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers: and the Emperor, on his part, had engaged there should be an entire freedom and security for all who assisted at it; and that Bishops from all Christian Provinces should be present, either in person, or by their Representatives. But these Articles were scarcely settled, when a considerable misunderstanding broke out between this Prince and the Pontiff, on account of the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and determined *Charles* to enter a Protest against the removal of the Council, which he notified by his Envoy to the Fathers at *Bologna*, and by *Mendoza* at *Rome*.

The *English* LEGATE, though he had now recovered his health, did not return to his Colleagues at *Bologna*, being detained at *Rome* by the Pope, who was desirous to have him near his person, that he might consult him on the emergencies



gencies of the Council, which became every day more intricate, and on whatever concerned Religion in general. He was likewise of singular service in all transactions with foreign Courts, and in drawing up Memorials and Instructions which regarded them. "He acquitted himself of this trust with great ease, says his Secretary *Becatelli*, having acquired from his youth a facility of expressing himself, and an uncommon insight into all manner of business †." I shall exemplify this in two instances, and give an abstract of the first.

It is a Reply to the Emperor's Protest, in which the principal grievance alledged, was, "The Pope's remissness in the care of the Church, and his evasive and affected delays in holding a Council. On the other hand, *Mendoza* extolled his Imperial Majesty's sollicitude in that affair, as the only remedy to the present evils. He represented the Decree of transferring the Council as a party-business, managed by some Bishops, who were devoted to the Pontiff's will, as seditious and irregular, and contrary to Ecclesiastical laws and customs; and, as such, he insisted on its being annulled. He complained that the Pope had paid no regard to the Emperor and to the King of the *Romans*, who requested the continuation of the Council at *Trent*; and that he shewed little concern for the welfare of the *Germanic* Body. He represented the Pope's answer to the Emperor on these heads, as foreign to the purpose, and void of sincerity; and concluded with a kind of threat, that his Majesty would impute to him whatever detriment the Christian cause suffered; which, he said, should not want a Protector, should the Pope not act up to that character."

To

† *Vita Poli*, fol. 18.



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To this remonstrance the LEGATE made the following reply. “ He began by complaining, in his turn, that the Emperor testified little gratitude for the many and important services the Pope had done him in his late wars; to which he had furnished Troops and Money, beyond what the Ecclesiastical Exchequer and State could well bear. That the proceedings he held with his Holiness, were not only highly unseasonable at the present juncture, but had seldom been used, unless by those who had cast off their obedience to the holy See, or wavered in it. He then shews, that the Ambassador had exceeded his powers; and consequently, that whatever he had done was void. And having caused the Imperial mandate to be read, he pointed out where *Mendoza* had acted counter to the substance of his commission; and then added, there was great reason to thank Almighty God, that, whereas there had not been wanting seditious and turbulent spirits to impel his Imperial Majesty to unwarrantable measures, yet such had been the watchfulness of Providence, on so critical an occasion, as not only not to suffer him to give any written orders, contrary to the peace and tranquillity of the Church; but had opened a true and legal way, by which it might be established. That though the answer already given might be deemed sufficient to whatever *Mendoza* had advanced, yet, lest his speech might leave an ill impression on minds not informed of the real state of the question, he would remove the whole blame with which his objections were fraught. He then proceeds to shew, that the Pontiff, whilst he was a private person, did not only declare a sincere desire of a General Council, during the Popedom of *Leo* and *Clement*, as was well known to the sacred College, and particularly



particularly to those who were then chosen into it; but had continued in the same dispositions since his advancement to the Papacy, and been always ready, at every glimmering of success, to summon it. That he had done this, first at *Mantua*, then at *Vicenza*; and if he had failed, the real cause was, that few Prelates came to the former, and none to the latter. That his Legates had waited six months at *Vicenza*, expecting, to no purpose, the arrival of the Prelates, whom he had invited by letters; at the same time that his Ambassadors as vainly desired the respective Sovereigns at the Courts where they were, to hasten the Prelates setting out: which tergiversation was owing not to the unfitness of either city for the purpose, but to the wars which were then waged between the Christian Princes, in which the Emperor had so large a share; whereas the Pope had left nothing untried to reconcile them to each other."

Coming after this to answer what *Mendoza* had objected to the spirit of party, which had caused the Bishops, who were attached to the Pope, to transfer the Council, he makes this fine reflection: "That if the Ambassador meant to blame those who removed to *Bologna*, for their attachment to the Pope, and to praise those who remained at *Trent*, for being otherwise affected; he did not seem aware of the consequence of such sentiments, since Schism owed its rise to no other cause than a want of deference, in some of the Episcopal Order, to the holy See. But if, by Prelates attached to his Holiness, he understood such as were so devoted to him, as to be ready to give into all measures, right or wrong, the Pope was unacquainted with any of that prostitute character; having no interest to consult, and no party to espouse,



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espouse, but that of a common Father, with respect to all the Faithful, who were his Children, and to the whole Flock, of which he was Pastor. That in the Council there was nothing to be controverted which required partiality: That he desired the Bishops should be no otherwise attached to him than was consistent with the rectitude of their own sentiments, and the liberty to which all Councils had a particular claim; and that there was nothing he had recommended with greater earnestness to his Legates, at their departure, than not to give the Fathers any shadow of complaint, that their freedom in voting was restrained †." As to what *Mendoza* had advanced of the illegality of the removal, "the LEGATE demonstrates, it could never be considered in that light by any equitable and rightly-informed Judge; as the measure being proposed to the whole Assembly, had been assented to by a great majority, and on the best-grounded motives, in consequence of which it was authorized by his Legates, in whom all laws and customs, human and divine, acknowledge that power. He observes, that the Emperor and King of the *Romans* had no reason to complain of the Pope's paying little regard to their desire of recalling back the Council to *Trent*, and making small account of the welfare of *Germany*, which had caused them to request it. That the Pope had never absolutely refused this return, provided it was effected in a legal manner, and the welfare of a part so consulted, as not to bring a detriment on the whole. That the Council had already met twice at *Trent*, in favour of the *Germanic* Body: That at the first meeting, few or none of the *Germans* came to it, though the Legates

† Epist. Reg. Poli, pars 4. pag. 392. Sin vero, &c.



Legates *Parisius*, *Moron*, and himself, remained there seven months; whereas *Mendoza*, *Granville*, and the Bishop of *Arras*, could not be prevailed on to stay more than a few days, although their presence would have been a powerful inducement to others to come to the Council. That, at the second meeting, when the Council was opened, and every circumstance seemed to favour its success, it was but too visible how few of that nation in general were present at it, and not even one of those who stood most in need of such an aid, and whose welfare was chiefly consulted. As *Mendoza* had only asserted in general, that the Pope's answer to the Emperor's letter was evasive, and foreign to the purpose, without coming to any particular which proved it to be so; the Legate replied, it was sufficient for him to assert, on the contrary, that the accusation was groundless; and the Pope's answer void of guile or duplicity; and such as equity, and the circumstances of the time and cause, demanded.

“ The Ambassador had furthermore declared, That though the Emperor must impute whatever mischief befel the Church to the Pope's remissness in the due execution of his charge; yet he, the Emperor, would not be wanting to her protection. On which the LEGATE remarks, It were to be wished *Mendoza* had been more cautious and respectful in his expressions: but, however, his Holiness would use his best endeavours to comply with the duties annexed to his high station; but, if he failed, he still comforted himself that the Emperor's vigilance would supply any deficiency on his part, provided his Majesty undertook the care within those limitations which were mentioned in the Protest; that is, as far as was agreeable to equity, and had



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been allowed and practised by the Laws of the Church, the Decrees of the Fathers, and the consent of the World. If the Emperor did this, his Holiness had every reason to hope, that, under the favour of Heaven, all the Evils mentioned in the Protest would be prevented, and there would be no further occasion for such unwarrantable proceedings; since his own diligence in the discharge of his duty should ever be such, that if the Emperor performed what he here promised, each of them, in their respective stations, would contribute to the public good, and to the peace of Christendom."— This answer was read in a private Consistory, at which *Mendoza* was present, and then delivered to him in writing, on the first of *February*, 1548 †.

The Emperor, not satisfied with protesting against the translation of the Council, soon after published the *Interim*, or provisional Edict; and, notwithstanding the Pope's opposition, caused it to be received at the Diet of *Augsburg*, and by most of the Imperial Cities. It was a *Formulary*, drawn up in 36 Articles, concerning matters of Faith and Discipline, which was to have force till the General Council came to a determination on these heads. Two things in it were particularly displeasing to the Pope: The marriage of Priests, which was allowed; and the communion in both kinds, which was permitted where it had been introduced: and it gave him moreover great offence, that a Lay Potentate should usurp the Sacerdotal function, and take on himself to regulate what concerned Religion. This proceeding was not disapproved of by the Pope alone, but generally condemned by

† *Epist. Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. pag. 382.



by Protestants and Catholics; the latter of whom compared it to the *Henotick* of *Zenon*, the *Ecthesis* of *Heraclius*, and the *Type* of *Constans*. The Emperor had published with it another Edict concerning Reformation, which met with less opposition; and the Regulations there laid down were adopted by several Provincial Councils; and namely, by that of *Augsburg*, where the Catholic Religion had been restored a year after its proscription.

Among the several Writings which were published from all parts against the *Interim*, that which appeared at *Rome* was the most considerable. The *English* CARDINAL was desired to lend his assistance on this occasion also, to the labouring cause of Religion; and, having finished the answer to the Protest, was placed at the head of some able and eminent Prelates, who were appointed to refute and set forth the evil tendency of the *Formulary*. His leisure, during this absence from the Council, was partly taken up in those occupations which concerned the general welfare of Christendom, and partly in his Government at *Viterbo*, which was his special department.

In the mean time the Prelates, who were assembled at *Bologna*, held the ninth Session on the 21st of *April*, the day to which they had adjourned on leaving *Trent*. As none were present but *Italians*, nothing more was done than to adjourn to the second of *June*; when, for the same reason, they adjourned again to the 15th of *September*: and, that this Session might not be so universal a blank as the two last, they passed an order for translating the Sermons of the Fathers and ancient Doctors into the vulgar Languages; and gave *Florimont*, Bishop of *Sessa*, the charge of the *Italian* version, which



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has since been continued by the Benedictine Monks of *Florence*. This was the last Session which was held at *Bologna*; for the two Legates, perceiving the slowness with which the Prelates arrived, prorogued the eleventh to an indeterminate time. The Pope had endeavoured, during his contests with the Emperor, to prevail on the Bishops who remained at *Trent*, to follow the example of the majority; but as they persisted in their first resolution, he suspended the Council, alledging, he would establish a Congregation at *Rome*, which should reform manners, and settle discipline.

What CARDINAL POLE's sentiments were on the breaking up of the General Council, we learn from a letter of his to a *Spanish* Bishop, with whom he had very intimate connections; and who was no less affected than himself, at a measure which blasted all his hopes of seeing primitive Discipline revived, and innocence of Manners restored to all Orders of the Church. The CARDINAL tells him, "he considers the tears he shed on that occasion, as an earnest of the succour of Heaven being near at hand; and says, if the same contrite spirit became universal, there was no doubt but every thing, not excepting this last disappointment, would turn out to the advantage of God's people. That such tears were a heavenly dew; which did not fall on the earth in vain, but prepared it for future beauty and increase; and seemed alone to have been wanting to the Church's so-much-desired Renovation; as there had been no deficiency of Learning, of Decrees, of Canons, of Ceremonies, or of any other external aid \*. He reminds him of the usual dispensations of Providence to man-

\* Epist. Reg. Poli, pars 4. pag. 68. Non enim, &c.



mankind, and the delays by which it checks the impotence of human desires, and makes the blessing we sue for more dear by expectation. This he shews, first, from instances of the *Hebrews*, to whom even the favours which had been assured to them by Almighty God's repeated promises, were imparted with a like instructive oeconomy; and when their eagerness made them imagine themselves at the eve of freedom from the slavery of *Egypt*, or of entering on possession of the promised land, or of being released from the *Babylonian* Captivity, they were referred to a more distant term, which was fixed by the appointment of Heaven, and not regulated by their impatience. He then shews this to have happened, with still greater evidence, in the contradictions to which the saving doctrine of his blessed Son was exposed, and the treatment the divine Author himself met with: That mankind could never have a more plausible reason of complaining they were deceived, and of taking to themselves the words of *Isaiah*, *We have looked for light, and, behold! darkness; for a time in which we should be healed, and behold! disorder.* All which agreed with the expectation the Saviour of the World had raised; and the disappointment, in which, by his death, it seemed to end. And, on the other hand, there never was a time, when the world was involved in grosser darkness, or stood more in need of being reformed, than when these hopes vanished. Nor was the order of Heaven changed in the early state of Christianity, which was suffered to struggle, not months, or years, but whole centuries, with all the adverse powers of earth combined against her. But he who never errs, or leads into error, did not at his death deceive his Disciples, *who expected that He was to re-*



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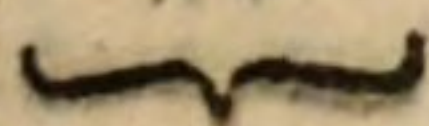
*deem Israel, but answered all their expectations, at that very juncture when they gave up all for lost; and caused his light to shine forth with the greatest brightness, when it seemed extinguished; shewed himself the Saviour of the World, when himself was considered as one helpless among the dead; and wiped off the tears from their eyes, who had hoped in him against hope itself."*

The CARDINAL coming afterwards to his own feelings; the circumstance of the Consistory, in which the breaking up of the Council was resolved, being held on *Good-Friday*, furnished him with the following reflections. "I could not help observing, says he, that this resolution was taken on the day when we renew the anniversary sorrow for our Redeemer's sufferings, on which the Council is not called but on very urgent causes; and having the afflicted state of the Church full in view, and the last great remedy now failing, I own I was no otherwise affected than if I had seen my Saviour's dead body before my eyes. In this distress, it was some comfort to me to reflect, that as the short sadness of his death was succeeded by the joy of his Resurrection, so his mystic body, the Church, might soon experience the same happy vicissitude, and rise again the holy city, the new *Jerusalem* †."

This is the last act in which the CARDINAL appears any ways concerned in the transactions of the Council: for *Paul III.* dying a few months  
10th Nov. after it was prorogued, his Successor, who sum-  
1549. moned it again, appointed different Legates from those who had before presided at it. But the zeal which the *English* CARDINAL shewed for the

† Epist. *Reginaldi Poli*, pars 4. Epist. ad Episcopum *Pacensem*, pag. 65.





the convening of this Assembly, the great share he had in the first Sessions, particularly in that in which the doctrine of Justification was defined, and the defence of the Council during the three following years after he left *Trent*, which lay chiefly on him, cause every thing which concerns it, to be connected with his History, who was its great Ornament and Support. The subsequent Sessions were no less important than those whose Decrees have been already related, and have been no less misrepresented by malignity or ignorance. They were moreover diversified by many curious and interesting anecdotes, to which particular incidents of the Council gave rise, and which give a great insight into its general character. I shall therefore present the Reader with a succinct and uninterrupted relation of these proceedings, and then go back to the present period, and resume the narrative of his Life, who is the subject of this Work.

*Paul III.* was succeeded by the Cardinal *del Monte*, who had been one of the Legates that presided at the Council, and took the name of *Julius III.* Two days after his coronation, the Jubile was opened with the usual solemnity. The Pope strikes thrice, with a golden hammer, the door of *St Peter's Church*, which is called the holy Entrance, and is always mured up, unless on this occasion; and pronounces at the same time these words of the 117th Psalm, *Open to me the Gates of Righteousness, I will go into them, I will praise the Lord; this Gate of the Lord, into which the Righteous shall enter.* The brick-work is then thrown down, and the Pope kneels down before the door, which the Penitentiaries of *St Peter* wash with holy water: then rising, he takes the Cross, intones the *Te Deum*, and enters the Church. At the same time, three



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Cardinals are deputed to *St John Lateran's*, *St Paul's*, and *St Mary Major's*, and open the holy Door of these Churches with the same ceremonies.

The new Pope, soon after his election, signified his intention of continuing the Council, and having *Trent* the Seat of it; and a Decree was published accordingly, on the 14th of *November*, 1550. The *Lutherans* and others, who had separated themselves from the Church, and were then holding a Diet at *Augsburg*, insisted on a revision of the Decrees already made in the former Sessions, which the Pope not agreeing to, they were with great difficulty prevailed on to acknowledge the authority of the Council. This second opening was made on the first of *May* of the following year, by the Legates, *Crescentio*, Cardinal of *St Marcellus*; *Sebastian*, Archbishop of *Siponto*; and *Lewis Lipoman*, Bishop of *Verona*; who were joined in the commission with a design to honour the Episcopacy, and take away all further occasion of complaints and jealousies that Cardinals alone were employed in that high post. The Fathers passed an Act at this meeting, by which the Council was resumed, and then adjourned to the first of *September*.

The Session held on that day was the twelfth, and was opened by a discourse of the Cardinal Legate. He was taken up by the celebrated *Amiot*, who entered a Protest against the Pope's proceedings, in the name of the *French King*, *Henry II.* who had succeeded to *Francis I.* The Pontiff had declared this Prince excommunicated on account of the succour he gave to *Ottavio Farnese*, and threatened to lay his Kingdom under an Interdict. *Henry* was so piqued at this behaviour, that he forbade the *French Bishops* to go to the Council, and money to be sent out of the



the Kingdom to *Rome*, on any pretext whatever; and commanded his Subjects to have recourse to their Ordinaries in all Ecclesiastical affairs: but, at the same time, he informed *France* and the rest of *Europe*, that his disagreement with the Pope had not abated his respect and zeal for Religion; and he caused severe inquiries to be made concerning the growth of *Calvinism*, which had now overspread a Nation fond of Novelty, and, when not under a proper restraint, prone to licentiousness. Nothing that was properly the object of the Council, nor any other business, besides the *French King's* Protest, having passed in this Session; the Decree concerning the Eucharist was made in the following, on the 11th of *October*, to which day the Fathers had adjourned. The Doctrine is set forth in eight chapters; and twelve Canons or Decisions condemn the late Heresies concerning this capital Article of the Catholic Religion. The doctrinal part treats of the real Presence of JESUS CHRIST in the Eucharist; of the manner of its institution; of its excellence, and of Transubstantiation; of the Worship due to JESUS CHRIST in the Sacrament: on which occasion the Council expressly approves of the annual solemnity by which its institution was commemorated, and of carrying the holy Host in solemn processions. It treats afterwards of keeping the Eucharist in Churches, and carrying it to the Sick; of the dispositions, by which the Faithful are to prepare themselves to receive it, and of the manner of receiving; and exhorts them to live in such innocence of manners, as to be in a condition to receive it often. It is remarkable, that in the Chapter on Transubstantiation, the Fathers are silent as to the manner by which the body of our Lord becomes present in



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in the Eucharist, and in this have set the Schools a lesson of that decent reservedness, which they ill observed before, and have as little attended to since. A Decree concerning Discipline passed likewise in this Session, which contains several regulations of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and is divided into eight chapters. The minutes of the Safe-Conduct, which the Council was to grant to the *Lutherans* of Germany, and others who had left the communion of the Church, were read; and a draught of the answer, which the Fathers were minded to make to the *French* King's Protest.

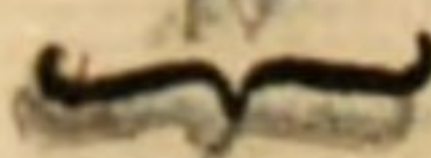
The Sacraments of Penitence, and extreme Unction, or the last Anointing, were the subjects of the 14th Session, which was held about six weeks after; the former of which takes up nine chapters; the latter, four: which are followed, agreeably to the plan which the Council had settled at its first meeting, by fifteen Canons, or definitions concerning these matters. The chapters on Penitence treat particularly of its necessity and institution, and in what it differs from Baptism; of its parts and effects; of Contrition, or perfect sorrow, proceeding from the pure love of God; and of imperfect sorrow, termed Attrition, which though insufficient to justify the Sinner without the Sacrament of Penitence, yet *disposes* him to a reconciliation with God in that Sacrament, provided it include a resolution to sin no more, and a hope of pardon. This imperfect or initial sorrow is declared to be a gift of God, and an impulse of the holy Spirit; not indeed as a guest who inhabits the soul, but who moves and excites it. It had been first resolved in the Committees, to make use of a word of stronger import than *disposes*; but, by the advice of some of the Bishops, the latter was employed



employed as more suitable. The Council having treated of the first part of the Sacrament of Penitence, or of sorrow for having offended Almighty God, comes to Confession, which is the second; of which it declares Bishops and Priests to be the Ministers: it speaks likewise of Absolution, and approves of reserving heinous crimes to the cognisance of the Diocesan, or even of the Pope. And, lastly, of those Works which are enjoined to atone for sin, and appease an offended God, and are therefore termed *Satisfaction*; which is the last of the three parts of this Sacrament. This Decree concludes with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction as to its institution, effects, the Minister who is to confer it, and the time when it is to be received. The Decree concerning Reformation and Discipline, which, as had hitherto been practised, was joined to that which concerned Faith, contains fourteen Articles: the second of which limits the power of Bishops *in partibus*; that is, who have titles in heathen or other Countries, where they have no residence: the third authorises Bishops to correct abuses, and will have no appeal suspend the effect of their sentence: the fifth forbids the union of Benefices in different Dioceses: the tenth orders that benefices annexed to a Religious profession, be conferred on persons of that calling.

The Ambassadors of the *German* Princes and States, who had left the communion of the Catholic Church, were now arrived at *Trent*, and a general and extraordinary Congregation was held in order to receive them. But before the public Audience, which was given them on the 24th of *January*, 1552, in the Legate's palace, a Protest was registered in the name of all the Fathers, by which they declare, that the condescension  
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which the Council was about to shew to the German Sectaries in receiving and hearing their Deputies, should not be a precedent. The three Ecclesiastical Electors, all the Bishops, and the Emperor's Ambassador, were present at this Assembly; and on the morrow, when the fifteenth Session was held, an order was made not to proceed to any further decisions till the 19th of *March*. This was done in favour of the *Germans*, who asked this prorogation, that their Divines might come time enough to assist at the ensuing Session. A Copy of the Safe-Conduct granted to them was likewise read; and is much of the same form as that which the Council of *Basil* had granted to the *Bobemians*. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the *Germans* left *Trent* almost as soon as they arrived; from a dissatisfaction, as they gave out, that the Safe-conduct granted to their Divines was not sufficiently ample. They insisted also on their having a deliberative and decisive voice in the Council; that the Decrees already passed should be examined over again; that all Controversies concerning Religion should be decided by Scripture alone; and, lastly, that the Pope should submit himself to the Council, and release the Bishops from the Oath they take to him, that they might be at full liberty to vote as they pleased. At the same time, *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, recalled his Divines, who were at *Nuremburg*, in their way to *Trent*; and a report prevailing of that Prince's immediate rupture with the Emperor, the Ecclesiastical Electors left the Council, and returned to their respective states. The *Italian* Prelates seemed only to want a pretext to avail themselves of their example; which soon presented itself by the news of *Maurice* having taken *Augsburg*, and the *German* army passed the *Alps*.



*Alps.* Not long after these transactions, the peace concluded between the Emperor and the Elector gave occasion to the pacification of *Passau*, to which the *Lutherans* have always appealed, as to their safest bulwark, in all their contests with the Catholic Powers.

But as disorders in every kind, which the novelties in Religion produced, still continued, another conference was held at *Worms*, between the Catholics and the *Lutherans*, and to as little purpose as any of the former; for the Adherents to the Confession of *Augsburg* fell into as great divisions among themselves, as those which had separated them from the Church of *Rome*. This conference had been agreed on the year before, by the States of the Empire, at the Diet at *Ratisbon*; and is the last which has been held on affairs of Religion in *Germany*. Though the Council was adjourned to the 19th of *March*, it did not meet till the 28th of *April*, when an Act passed for suspending it for two years; which twelve *Spanish* Bishops opposed, and entered their Protest against it. The reasons for this Suspension are specified in the Decree of the Session, which is the sixteenth; and the Fathers exhort all Christian Princes and Bishops to cause, as far as depended on them, whatever the Council had hitherto ordained, to be observed in their respective States and Dioceses.

After this dissolution, the Pope thought that a Congregation of his own appointing, for the Reformation of Manners, would answer the purpose of a general Council, and furnish those aids of which the late Act had deprived Christendom. But this attempt proved as fruitless as that made by his Predecessor on the like occasion. The disorder was too widely spread, and too deeply rooted, to be removed by a less powerful remedy than



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than the united wisdom of the Episcopal order, from the different provinces of the Christian world, who were informed of the true state of their Churches: and the weight and dignity of the Decrees already made was such, that a less authority could not give to what remained, that sanction which had attended on the former Sessions. *Julius* survived this establishment two years, which was enough to let him see how unavailing his plan had been; and was succeeded by *Marcellus II.* who, dying within a month after his election, could not execute any of the great designs he had formed for the public welfare. Like his Predecessor, he had been one of the three Legates, who presided at the second meeting of the Council at *Trent*, and a similitude of manners had connected him closely with *CARDINAL POLE*, who was joined in the same commission.

Though his Successor, *Paul IV.* held the Papacy above four years, and made several salutary efforts to prevent the *Sanctuary* from being lain waste, and the *Altar* profaned, yet he took no step towards summoning the Council, and finishing an edifice, whose foundation was lain, and the superstructure happily raised in two of the former Pontificates. His Successor, *Pius IV.* had no sooner filled *St Peter's* chair, but he declared his intention to set about a Work which his Predecessors had left unfinished; and informed not only the Catholic Powers, but the *Lutheran* Princes of it. His Ambassadors had an audience of the latter, at a Diet they held at *Nuremburg*; but they were so taken up with the divisions, which the endless variations in their own professions of Faith had occasioned, that though every argument was made use of to sooth their tempers, and influence their minds, *like the deaf Adder, they shut their ears*



ears to the voice of the Charmer, who charmed wisely. They were unanimous in nothing but the extirpation of the Catholic Religion, and sharing the plunder which the Church-lands would supply.

These delays and disappointments in the business of the Council, gave occasion in France to the celebrated Conference of *Poissy*. The Queen Mother, *Catharine of Medici*, who was Regent during the minority of her Son, *Charles IX.* who succeeded *Francis II.* had been too easily persuaded by some Prelates, whose religious principles were very equivocal, that there was no necessity of waiting the decision of the holy See; but that a Conference held in the Kingdom between the Catholic Prelates and the *Calvinists*, would answer all purposes. She had already signified to the Pope, that, in order to facilitate the return of the latter, she was of opinion, the use of pious pictures and images might be set aside; the Exorcisms used in the administration of Baptism omitted; Communion in both kinds universally established; singing of the Psalms in the vulgar tongue introduced; and the feast of *Corpus Christi* abolished. The Pope had reason to apprehend the consequences of a Conference, which was to be held after these demands had been made with so little reserve, that the Regent seemed to think there could be no inconvenience in granting them. He sent therefore *Hippolitus of Est*, Cardinal of *Ferrara*, to assist, in quality of his Legate, at the Assembly, and to be watchful on all its proceedings. Several Cardinals, a considerable number of Bishops and Divines, whose reputation was very high, were present on the part of the Catholics; and thirteen Ministers, with *Beza*, Calvin's favourite Disciple, at their head, on that of the Reformers.

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The King, the Regent, the Princes of the Blood, were so placed as to hear all that was said. *Beza* was refuted by the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and *Laines*, the second Superior-General of the Jesuits, with such evidence, that his Associates, having nothing to reply, contented themselves with turning the arguments brought against them into rally; and *Beza*, in the heat of the dispute, advanced a proposition against CHRIST'S Presence in the Eucharist; which shocked all who were present, and brought to their remembrance the blasphemy he had committed to writing concerning this Mystery \*.

This Conference was afterwards changed into one less public, at Saint *Germans en Laye*, between five Catholic Doctors and as many Calvinist Ministers. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* had invited the *Lutherans* of *Germany* to be present, with a view of exposing to all *France* the disagreement of the new Teachers, who, though they insisted on nothing more than the perspicuity of the Scriptures, were for ever citing their authority in the attacks they made on each other, without coming to an agreement on any thing, but their separation from the ancient faith of the Church. But the *Germans* did not arrive till these discussions were over; at the conclusion of which the Prelates made several regulations concerning Church Discipline.

The discourse by which *Laines* refuted *Beza* was so satisfactory, that it procured the settlement of his Order at *Paris*: for the Parliament having remitted the decision of this affair to the Prelates, who were met at *Poissy*, they determined it in favour of the Jesuits, and approved of their Institute, but only as a Society and College,

\* Non magis in coenâ quàm in coeno.



College, not as a new Religious Order. They added moreover this clause, "That the Members should not take the name of *the Society of Jesus*, or of *Jesuits*; and that the Bishop of the Diocese should have full power to superintend and correct them, and even expel all refractory and irregular persons." This is the tenor of the Act of their admission, which is dated the 15th of *September*, before the conferences ended \*.

1561.

These restrictions indeed have since been softened; and from the reign of *Henry IV.* who gave the *Jesuits* the highest marks of his Royal favour, till their late expulsion, that Order of Men has no where met with more encouragement, or done greater services to Religion and Learning, than in *France*.

It was now almost two years since the election of *Pius IV.* and every thing seemed to concur to let him see the necessity of executing the resolution he had signified at the beginning of his Pontificate, of assembling the General Council. But though he published a Decree, by which it was summoned for *Easter-week* of this year, and named the Legates who were to preside at it, still fresh difficulties caused him to defer it till the following. *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded his brother *Charles* in the Empire, with a view of being on good terms with the *Lutherans*, sought to put off an Assembly, whose bare name raised their

\* *Thuanus*, ad annum 1561. *Mezeray*.

Ils approuverent leur compagnie, mais seulement en forme de société et de College, et non de Religion nouvellement instituée; et aussi à la charge que les membres de cette Société seroient tenus de prendre un autre nom que celui de Société de *Jesus*, ou des *Jesuites*; et que sur icelle dite Société et College l'Evêque diocésain auroit toute superintendence, juridiction, et correction, de chasser, et d'ôter de la dite compagnie les forfaites et malvivans. *Mezeray*.



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their spleen; and *Philip* of *Spain* would have had a formal declaration, that the Council to be convened was not a new Assembly, but only a continuation of the former. The Fathers indeed every where proceed on a supposition, that the Council had never been, properly speaking, dissolved, but only prorogued; and that the long interruptions had suspended, but not broke it up. During this suspense, the Pope made three Decrees: by the first he declared, if the holy See should be vacated whilst the Council was sitting, the choice of the Pope should devolve, not to the Council, but to the sacred College; which precaution had been taken by *Paul III.* By the second, the Pope could not appoint himself a successor, though all the Cardinals should give their consent: and by the third, those Bishops only who were present at the Council, had a right of voting; which was the cause that none of the *Polish* Prelates assisted at it; and two, who were come to *Trent*, returned home as soon as they perceived they were not allowed as many votes as they had brought proxies from their brethren, which they had flattered themselves would be granted.

The objections to the conclusion of this great affair being at length surmounted, or at least set aside, the Council was opened, for the third time, on the 18th of *January*, 1562, after an interruption of ten years, and happily concluded before the end of the following. This Session was held in the Cathedral, into which the Legates made their entry with a majesty becoming the solemnity of the occasion. The great silver cross, which was borne before them, was placed in the middle of the Council. The Legates were seated at the upper end, higher than the rest; and, next to them, the other Cardinals.

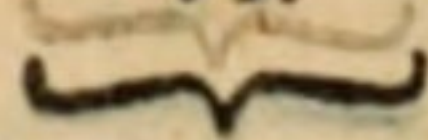
Over-



Over-against them, and at some distance, were the seats of the Patriarchs; and below them, those of the Archbishops and Bishops: below these were the Abbots and Superior Generals of Religious Orders. The Ambassadors were on seats less raised, in the length of the Church; the Ecclesiastics on the right, the Lay on the left. There was besides a great number of Doctors, and of the most learned personages in the Christian world. Though the *Spanish* Bishops insisted much on a formal declaration, that the present Council was no more than a prorogation of that already held, this clause was omitted, not to give offence to the *Lutherans*, who pretended the former Decrees should be revised; and had alledged that pretext, among others, for not assisting at it. The Declaration made by the Fathers in the 17th Session, by which the Council was opened, is, "That all suspension having ceased, the General Council was to be held from that day." Some of the Bishops of the same nation took exception at the Legates being said, "to preside, and propose what was to be debated," as if the expression imported an absolute authority; but it passed by a majority; and nothing more was declared to be meant by it, than had been practised in other General Councils.

The Legates were *Hosius*, a native of *Cracovia*, and Bishop of *Wormia*, in *Poland*; *Hercules Gonzaga*, *Simoneta*, and *Hierom Seripando*, all Cardinals: and it must be acknowledged, that the Majesty of the first Bishop of the Christian Church was never represented by a happier choice of Delegates; nor the interests of that Church better understood, or supported with greater ability. I have entered elsewhere into so great a detail of the merit of the first, and of his connec-





tions with CARDINAL POLE, as to make it needless to add any thing here \*. *Hercules Gonzaga*, the second, was brother to *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Mantua*; and, during his Nephew's minority, had governed his States with great prudence and lenity, and was remarkable for his tenderness to the Poor †. *Simoneta*, besides a great insight into the politer arts, was universally esteemed the ablest Lawyer of his age ‡; and not less remarkable for his regard of the *English* CARDINAL, and his connections with him, than his Colleague *Hofius*; and, to a like intimacy with the Cardinal of *Mantua*, we owe a very elegant letter already cited, to that Prince §. *Seripando*, the fourth Legate, was one of the most learned and deserving personages of the 16th Century; and though I shall have occasion, at the end of this Work, to mention the account he made of him who is the subject of it, I cannot here omit the following circumstances of the last act of his life, as they serve to characterise so great a man. On the day of his death, which happened at *Trent*, whilst the Council was yet sitting, he caused himself to be taken out of bed, and, before he received the holy Sacrament, made on his knees a profession of Faith; and afterwards discoursed in *Latin*, on the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*; on the Duties of a Christian; on the Resurrection of the Dead; and on what was to be done that the Council might have a happy conclusion.

A hun-

\* See page 175, et seq.

† Vide *Sadoleti* Epist. pag. 30, 65, 567.

‡ Inter Jureconsultos nostræ ætatis omnium judicio consulti-  
tissimus. *Sad.* Epist. l. 14. p. 548.

*POLUS*, amplissimus vir, certè incredibili quadam virtute  
animi et sanctitate vitæ præstans, totus tibi deditus est. *Sado-*  
*leti* Epist. ad *Jacobum Simonetam*, pag. 551.

§ In the Vth Section.



A hundred and twelve Bishops, besides others who had a right to be present, assisted at the Session by which the Council was opened; and, the above-mentioned Preliminaries being regulated, the Fathers began by appointing a Committee of eighteen Prelates to compile a catalogue or Index of prohibited books; but, not to alienate those who were the Authors or Abettors of such Works, they were cautioned to suppress it till the end of the Sessions. The Pope's order, which appointed the rank the Prelates were to observe in the Council, according to their ordination, was read on the 26th of *February*, when the eighteenth Session was held. No precedence was given to the Primate, because the high dignity which the Fathers enjoyed in common, as Assessors in that august Assembly, placed them on a level, and caused all other distinctions on that occasion to cease. A Decree also passed concerning the choice of books; the number and variety of those of an evil tendency obliging the Fathers, as they declare, to look on this precaution as a very material point of their charge. The Safe-conduct, which was to be granted to all who dissented from the Catholic Religion, was mentioned with all possible signification of good-will and concern for their re-union to the Church, whose welfare was interested in it; and, on the 8th of *March*, the Passport was published in the same form as that granted to the *Germans* ten years before; but extended to all other Nations, though without naming any, that none might be taxed with Heresy. Several Committees were then held concerning Discipline; in one of which Don *Bartholomew de Martyribus*, the celebrated Archbishop of *Braga*, proposed a plan for the Reformation of the Cardinals, which the Council did not judge proper



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to adopt. The question of the residence of Bishops, though discussed a long time, was not decided: and the Pope took such offence at its being brought a second time before the Council, that he sent a person of confidence, and his kinsman, to observe the conduct of the Cardinals of *Mantua* and *Seripando*, to whom he imputed this proceeding, and give him an account of it. This was *Charles Visconti*, Bishop of *Vintimille*; whose letters are come down to us, and have given a high idea of the writer's capacity and skill in public affairs. -- In the next Session, which was the nineteenth, and was held on the 14th of *May*, nothing more was done than to adjourn to the following Meeting.

This slow progress in matters of such high concern was owing to a condescension to the Emperor, whose Ambassadors did all they could to cause these delays; as the *Spanish* Prelates still insisted on the declaration they had moved for at the first meeting, and which *Ferdinand* thought contrary to his interests; and no Bishops were arrived from *Germany*, to counterbalance their authority. The *French* likewise had several matters to lay before this supreme Court of Judicature, and were therefore desirous that nothing which could interfere with what they had to propose, should be determined without their participation. Soon after, their Ambassadors arrived at *Trent*, and were received with that distinction which *Lansac*, one of them, describes to *de Lisle*, Ambassador from the same Court to that of *Rome*. In this letter he intreats him to use his best endeavours with the Pope, that the Council might be at full liberty to propose, deliberate, and vote, without having recourse to his Holiness; that so there might be no occasion to say  
of



of the Legates who presided, that "the Holy Ghost was sent to them in a Cloke-bag:" an expression, in which there is great indecency, and very little wit; if indeed it can be said to have any. *Pallavicini* relates this profane buffoonery of one of *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors, in a letter to that Prince's son, *Maximilian II.* The other Ambassadors from *France* were, *du Ferrier*, President of the Parliament of *Paris*; and *Pibrac*, of that of *Toulouse*. The latter of these was chosen to harangue the Council, when he and his Collegues had their public Audience, in a general Assembly held for that purpose on the 26th of *May*: and he spoke in such a manner as to give great offence to most who were present, particularly to the *Spanish* Bishops; and to meet with the approbation of very few. The Fathers were shocked at a discourse, in which the General Council under *Paul* and *Julius III.* was reproached with breaking up, "without having done any good;" or, according to other editions of this speech, "any signal service to the Church." The *French* Writers excuse the insolence of this expression, by the Speaker's design to turn the Fathers from a declaration, to which they seemed strongly inclined, that the Council then sitting was only a continuation of the two former; which the Ambassadors apprehended would keep the *Calvinists*, to whose party one of them, *du Ferrier*, soon after went over, and whom the *French* had now more reason than ever to fear, at a greater distance from the Catholic Church. The Instructions they brought from their Court contained several important Articles; and, among others, they were to insist on the observance of the sixth Canon of the Council of *Calcedon*, which commands Bishops to admit none to holy Orders, but such as are designed for a de-



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terminate exercise of their functions, and thus lessen the number of useless Ministers.

Though the twentieth Session was held on the 4th of June, yet the Fathers deferred the publication of any further Decrees: and the Emperor's Ambassadors having presented to the Legates a Memorial of Grievances, which their Master desired might be redressed, they refused to lay it before the Council, and represented to that Prince their objections in so strong a light, that he yielded to their reasons, and left every thing to their discretion. The Pope, at the same time, seemed resolved to declare the present sitting of the Council to be only a continuation of the former; and to decide, by his own authority, the question concerning Residence. However, he changed his mind as to both these Articles; and restored the Legates to favour, who dissented from him with respect to the latter.

Nothing very material had yet been transacted, though the Council had sat above half a year: but, on the 16th of July, the following important Decrees passed in the twenty first Session. Those which concern Faith, take up six chapters, in which the obligation of receiving the Eucharist in both kinds, is declared not to extend to the Laity: That in the dispensation of the Sacraments, the Church has a power to establish such rites as do not affect their nature and substance; and that the Eucharist is wholly received in either kind: That Infants are not obliged to sacramental Communion; for which the following reason is given, "because being cleansed and regenerated by Baptism, and incorporated into the Body of JESUS CHRIST, they cannot forfeit, at that age, the Grace they have already received, by which they are become the children of God."

These



These doctrinal chapters are followed by as many Canons, which condemn opinions lately introduced, and repugnant to the tenets here established. And, in the conclusion, the Council reserves to another time the examination of the use of the Cup, and under what limitations the Laity were to be allowed it. A deference to the Emperor's Ambassadors, who desired this practice might be permitted in *Germany*, caused this clause to be inserted. The Decree concerning Reformation goes through nine chapters; and, among other regulations, prescribes disinterestedness to Bishops, and taxes the fees of their Courts. The abuses committed in the collection of Alms, on occasion of Indulgences, caused the Council to abolish the set of men who were employed in it. The mercenary behaviour of these Collectors had given our ancestors occasion to call them by the significant and disgraceful name of *Pardon-Mongers*. Indulgences, and all spiritual favours, are ordered for the future to be published by the Ordinary, assisted by two Members of the Chapter, who are to collect the Alms. The Fathers command none to be admitted to holy Orders, who are not provided with a benefice, or an income sufficient for a decent maintenance; and empower Bishops to erect new Parish-churches, and unite benefices, where necessity required it, but without prejudice to the actual Incumbent.

During this Session, the *Spanish* Prelates, perceiving that it was contrary to the general sense of the Council to make a formal declaration, that its present sitting was no more than a continuation of the two former, withdrew their motion; as likewise the question concerning the obligation of Residence. A general Assembly, held a few days after the Session, made several  
July 21st.  
regu-



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regulations which related to the Council itself: by one of which the Divines, when they delivered their opinions, were limited to half an hour; which being elapsed, the Master of Ceremonies was to give them a sign to leave off. But this Rule of the Court was so little observed, that on the same day, *Salmeron*, the Pope's first Divine, such was the importance of the subject, and the weight of the Speaker, took up the whole time of the Sitting. Several other general Assemblies were held, wherein the grant of the Cup through *Germany*, caused a great variety of opinions. Of one hundred and sixteen Prelates, who were present, thirty eight were for refusing it, twenty nine for permitting, and twenty four for remitting the decision to the Pope. Thirty one agreed to the substance of the grant, provided the regulation of it was referred to him; ten were for intreating his Holiness to send Deputies into *Germany*, to consider the exigency of affairs on the spot; nineteen limited the concession to *Germany* and *Hungary*: but, at length, a majority of the whole Assembly referred the decision to the Pope, without any restriction.

Notwithstanding the instances made by the *Germans* and *French*, to have the twenty second Session put off, it was held on the 17th of *September*. The Emperor still flattered himself he should prevail on the *Lutherans* to come to the Council, in the Diet he was to hold at *Frankfort*; but found, when he came to the trial, the same disappointment he had hitherto met with. And the *French* were desirous that nothing should be decided till the arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who was expected at the head of the Prelates of that Nation. --- The doctrinal Decree of this Session contains the belief of the Catholic Church



Church concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, and is comprised in nine chapters. The first treats of its institution, by these words of JESUS CHRIST, spoken at the last Supper, and addressed to his Apostles, "Do this in remembrance of me:" and the Council adds, that He conferred on them the Priesthood of the new Covenant. Some of the Fathers had been of opinion, that this was done after his Resurrection, by these words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," and the following. In the second chapter, the Mass is declared a propitiatory Sacrifice for the living and the dead. The third and fourth treat of Masses, which are said in honour of the Saints; of the Canon and Ceremonies of the Mass, and of private Masses, in which the Priest alone receives the communion; and the Council approves of them. In the Committees held before this Session, it had been proposed to abolish a form of prayer, which contained the whole Service of the Mass, except the Consecration; but *Drakowitz*, an *Hungarian* Bishop, opposed this motion, in favour of those who are at sea, who, by this representation, are not totally deprived of the real Sacrifice, which, on account of the constant rolling of the vessel, can seldom be offered on shipboard. The seventh chapter takes notice that Water is to be mixed with Wine in the chalice, and assigns several reasons for this institution: and the eighth orders each Church to continue its ancient practice, as to the language in which Mass is performed. The ninth is an introduction to the Canons or Rule of Faith concerning this Sacrifice, which are followed by injunctions as to the manner of offering it. Whatever has the appearance of Avarice or Superstition, some of which practices are enumerated, is prohibited; and unknown and vagabond Priests



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Priests are not permitted to perform the sacred functions.

Every article of these chapters, as well those which define the Faith, as those which prescribe the practice of the Catholic Church with respect to the Mass, is enounced with a dignity becoming this august Mystery, and in a manner the most suitable to inspire those with respect and devotion, who are disposed to such impressions. And because several of my Readers may never have had an opportunity of seeing this Act of Religion performed with solemnity, and may not be displeased to have a description of it, I shall here relate it, as it was performed by one of the most illustrious Bishops that ever filled the Pontifical Throne; after premising, that as he only took up what his Predecessors had delivered down to him, so the Bishops of every age of Christianity have done nothing more than perpetuate the same form of worship.

From the  
year 440,  
to 461.

The Prelates of the first ages, besides inward sanctity, in which the substance of Religion consists, made use of what had a pleasing effect on the senses, and left on the mind an awful and agreeable impression of the divine Being. Let the Reader represent to himself the Christians of *Rome*, assembled on *Easter Eve*, in the *Lateran Cathedral*, and in the Pontificate of *St Leo the Great*. The Service began by the benediction of the Fire, which was then kindled; after which, an incredible number of Lights rendered that holy Night as luminous as the brightest day. The august Temple, which was incrusted with costly marble, and hung with curious paintings of the chief Actions of our Saviour's Life, and the Sufferings of the Martyrs, was filled with an innumerable concourse of people, without tumult



mult or confusion, placed according to their age and sex, and the rank they held in the Church. Those who were to receive Baptism in that very night, and those who two days before had been reconciled to the Church, were the most conspicuous. The eye was struck on every side with the lustre of silver, and gold, and precious stones, with which every thing was ornamented, in proportion to the relation it bore to the holy Rites. The silence of the night was interrupted only by Lessons from the Prophets, which were read in a clear and audible manner; and by the melody of Anthems, which were intermixed with the Lessons; that by this variety each part of the Service might be more affecting. The mind, seized with these great and beautiful objects, was better disposed to conceive the divine instructions conveyed by the Lessons, especially in persons prepared, by the study of the sources from which they were taken. The recollected air of the Deacons, and other Ministers, formed by such a Prelate, and officiating under his observation, or, to speak more properly, under that of Almighty God, whose presence their piety rendered sensible, made all this pomp still more religious. But nothing exalted the Scene so much as the majesty of the Pope himself, venerable for his learning and eloquence, his magnanimity, and other virtues. We may easily frame to ourselves the respect and tender piety with which he repeated, on the sacred Fonts, the Prayers which himself had composed, and which have been held in such esteem by his Successors, and the whole Western Church, that they have used them thro' thirteen centuries. All these holy and divine Rites preceded the Sacrifice of the Mass, which on this occasion was offered at day-break, the time when our Redeemer rose from the dead, and  
with



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with a solemnity suited to the supreme Act of Religion. At this recital we cease to wonder that Christians, on these festivals, forgot all care of their body; and, having fasted the whole day, should pass the night, and a part of the following morning, in watching and prayer, before they took any nourishment.

The Decree concerning Reformation, which passed in the Session I am speaking of, renews the ancient Canons concerning the decency and regularity of the Clergy; and authorises Bishops to set apart one third of the Revenues of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to be daily distributed to each Canon, in proportion to his assiduity at the different parts of the Service; and orders, that none below an Under-Deacon shall have a voice in Chapter. The Council also grants to Bishops a power of deciding all disputes which arise about Wills, and says, they are to execute pious donations, and visit hospitals, provided they are not immediately subject to Princes. It orders the Administrators of all pious foundations to be accountable to them, in case the founder has not otherwise appointed; and impowers them to examine Notaries Royal, and even to interdict them those functions which regard spiritual matters.

The news of the speedy arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the *French* Bishops, prevailed on the Fathers to prorogue the next Session, and even to suspend the general Assemblies, in which the matter for the Sessions was prepared and digested. An Article now to be decided, had brought on a crisis, to which the Council, notwithstanding all the difficulties it had hitherto struggled with, had yet been a stranger; and the Fathers were to determine, whether the Jurisdiction, and other rights annexed to Episcopacy,



pacy, were of divine institution; or if the Prelacy held these privileges under the Head of their Order, the Bishop of *Rome*. No point had ever been discussed with greater accuracy, or debated with greater warmth. The dissension it produced was so violent, that, as *Pallavicini* relates, the most gloomy apprehensions succeeded to the hopes of seeing the happy days of Christianity return again, and her ancient Discipline take place of the disorders, to remedy which the Council had been convened.

It was believed the Cardinal of *Lorrain* would join the *German* and *Spanish* Prelates, in opposition to the *Italians*, who seemed disposed to favour the Papal pretensions; notwithstanding which, he was received "as an Angel of Peace, whom God had sent to repair the breaches, which Discord cannot fail to make in such numerous meetings." All the Fathers went out to meet him; and, in a general Assembly, on the 23d of *November*, when he had Audience, two hundred and eighteen Prelates, all the foreign Ministers, and a promiscuous number of persons of note, whom curiosity had drawn thither, were present. The Cardinal was esteemed one of the most eloquent persons of his age; and his zeal for the Religion of his Ancestors was equal to his abilities. He was son to the first Duke of *Guise*; and his high birth, the great preferments to which he was advanced, and the distinguished rank he held in his Sovereign's favour, gave great weight to whatever he interested himself in.

Having read the letter which the *French* King wrote to the Council, and of which he was the bearer, he delivered himself in a speech, which *Acta Con.* has been preserved; and wherein, among other *Trid. Low.* topics, he sets forth the deplorable state to which *1567.*

*France*



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*France* was reduced: "There is nothing to be seen, says he, but troubles, divisions, rapine, bloodshed, and sacrilege; and whatever the impiety of Heresy, armed with rage, greater than that of civil War, can produce. Fires are lighted up in every part of the Kingdom; into which the ornaments of the Church, the works of the Fathers, taken out of ancient Libraries, the pictures of Saints, and their sacred relics are cast, and the ashes thrown into the next current. The Ministers of the Altar are dragged from it to be massacred; and this sacrilegious impiety attacks the Holy of Holies, in endeavouring to abolish the Sacrifice of the new Law, that no footsteps may remain of the Religion of our Ancestors." Coming afterwards to the source of these frightful disorders, "the hand of an angry God, says he, is heavy on us, and punishes us according to our deserts. We have drawn this vengeance on ourselves by a corruption of manners, which has pervaded all conditions and orders in the Realm, and suffered the Discipline of the Church to go to decay \*." He then begs the Fathers to provide a remedy to these Evils; and assures them, he is ready, with the Bishops of *France*, to contribute all that was in his power.

The Instructions he brought with him were, to demand a Reformation of the whole Church; but without obstinately insisting on that of the Court of *Rome*, which the Pope was known to make his peculiar care. He was to ask, that the use of the Cup might be allowed in *France*; and that the Sacraments might be administered to the Laity in the Vulgar Tongue: That public Prayers might be said, and the Psalms sung, at certain

\* Hæc nobis justum Dei in irâ suâ judicium provocaverunt, corrupti omnium Ordinum mores, ac Ecclesiastica omnis collapsa Disciplina.



certain hours in the same; but without making any alteration in the Liturgy, which was to continue to be performed in *Latin*. Nothing was said of the marriage of Priests; the King only insinuated, that if they were to live in celibacy, it would be proper to defer their ordination to an age of greater maturity. --- Besides these demands of the *French* Court, which were made by the Cardinal; their Ambassadors, *Pibrac* and *Du Ferrier*, presented soon after a Memorial to the Legates, which contained the following Articles. They asked, in the name of the *French* Nation, that no Priest should be ordained, who did not possess a Benefice: That Deacons, and those in inferior Orders, should exercise the functions which were anciently allotted to their rank: That Abbots and Conventual Priors should be obliged to found Hospitals, Schools, and Infirmaryes, and practise hospitality, for which their predecessors had been so remarkable: That plurality of benefices should be utterly abolished, without any distinction between those which were compatible, or not so; which had been unknown to Antiquity: That Resignations, and all the collusions of Simony, should no longer take place; and some spiritual function be annexed to simple Benefices: That the spiritual Jurisdiction should be restored, without any restriction, to the Episcopal Order; and public Penitence, which had been observed in the primitive Church for hainous crimes, be again brought into practice: and, in conclusion, that Diocesan Synods be held at least every year; Provincial, within the space of three years; and General, within ten.

The Legates, having heard these Remonstrances, communicated them to the Pope, who wrote to the *French* King, with great commendation of the zeal he testified for reforming Abuses,



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which time had introduced; and restoring the ancient Discipline, which had suffered great changes, and been much relaxed: but withal, he gave him to understand, that the present circumstances required a moderation with respect to several of those Articles; and he desired his Majesty to consent to it. In this interval, the Jurisdiction and Rights of Episcopacy continued to be discussed; and the Fathers having appointed the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and *Madrucci* Bishop of *Trent*, to draw up the Decree concerning Residence, the question met with so many difficulties, as occasioned the next Session to be prorogued.

The *French* Cardinal, and some other Prelates, took this opportunity to wait on the Emperor, who was come to hold a Diet at *Inspruck*. He had convened an Assembly of Divines; and seemed dissatisfied with the Council for not granting his demands, and for proceeding in the affair of the Reformation with less warmth than he desired. The Prelates who came to pay their respects to him, were present at the Conferences held on this occasion; and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had several long Audiences of his Majesty, the subject of which has remained a Secret. Notwithstanding these reasons of complaint, *Ferdinand*, soon after, as an instance of his regard for the Council, decreed banishment to any one who should be found in a quarrel or riot within the City of *Trent*; and, for greater dispatch, proposed to the Pope a meeting at the same place, which the latter did not judge advisable.

The death of *Hercules Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, the chief Legate and President of the Council, and of *Seripando*, another of the Legates, caused the general Assemblies to be suspended,



pended, till the arrival of *Moron* and *Navigero*, whom the Pope substituted in their place. This hindrance, coming after the difficulties already mentioned, retarded considerably the progress of the Council; for though the twenty second Session was held on the 17th of *September* of the last year, the twenty third had been so often adjourned, that it did not meet till the 5th of *July* of this. The doctrinal Decree which here passed, took in every thing essential to holy Orders, and consequently the institution of Episcopacy, and whatever is annexed to it. It is comprised in four chapters; and treats of the Institution of the Priesthood of the new Law; and of those classes which properly belong to holy Orders, as Priesthood, Deacon, and Under-deaconship; and of the inferior Orders, as Readers, Exorcists, and the rest. The Fathers define Order to be truly a Sacrament, by which Grace is conferred; that the holy Ordination is performed by words and outward signs, and imprints an indelible character in the person who receives it. They then declare, “that Bishops, who are Successors to the Apostles, belong principally to the Hierarchy; and are appointed by the Holy Ghost, as *St Paul* says, *to govern the Church of God*: That they are of a superior rank to Priests; and that it belongs to them to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation, ordain the Ministers of the Altar, and perform several other functions, which the inferior Clergy are not impowered to do.” They declare likewise Ordination not to be made void, though the interposition of the Secular power should be wanting; and that those who are established by that only, are not to be reputed Ministers of the Church. And by the last of the eight Canons, which follow the doctrinal chapters, they pronounce an Anathema on whoever

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asserts that Bishops, appointed by the Pope's authority, are not truly and lawfully so, but that this practice is a mere human invention.

It is visible, from the caution with which the Articles concerning Episcopacy are drawn up, that the Council avoided an explicit decision of the nature of the Right, from which the Jurisdiction of that Order is derived. The same moderation was used with respect to the Papal Prerogatives, on which, while the subject was discussed, there had been a great diversity of opinions. *Laines*, who, on other Articles, was heard with great approbation in the General Assemblies which preceded the Session, had maintained, that the whole Hierarchy was comprised in the Pope's person; and that Bishops themselves had neither Jurisdiction nor Power, but inasmuch as they held it from him: but he was refuted, with great solidity, on these and other heads, wherein the opinions he had advanced were no less extreme, by *John of Verdun*, a Benedictine Monk.

The Decree concerning Reformation, which passed this Session, as usual, after that of Faith, treats of the Residence of the Clergy more at large, than had been done under *Paul III.* and takes in the Cardinals by name, whose absence it limits to two or three months in the year at most. It enjoins those who are named to Bishopricks, to be consecrated within three months; and commands them to confer holy Orders, and not send their Diocesans to be ordained by other Prelates: it disqualifies all under fourteen years to hold benefices, though they have received the Tonsure, and the four inferior Orders; and prohibits Abbots to confer these on any besides Regulars, who belong to their jurisdiction. It prescribes the stated intervals to be observed between



tween the collation of each Order; and appoints the twenty second year for Under-deaconship, the twenty third for Deaconship, and the twenty fifth for Priesthood. No Priests, who have not a benefice to which the care of Souls is annexed, are allowed, without a particular licence of the Bishop, to be Ministers of the Sacrament of Penitence: and the sixth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* is renewed, which restrains the number of the Clergy to the utility and exigencies of the Church. The inferior Clergy are reinstated in the functions proper to their respective classes; and where their number is not sufficient to perform those of the four lesser Orders, their place may be supplied by Laymen, who have been but once married, who are to be tonsured, and, when they officiate, to wear the clerical Habit. This long and edifying Decree, which takes up eighteen chapters, concludes with Regulations for establishing Seminaries in every Diocese; which was judged so useful, that many of the Fathers affirmed, was this to be the sole fruit of the Council, it would make abundantly amends for all their pains.--- The Pope was the first to set the example of this laudable institution, by founding the *Roman* Seminary, which he assigned to the care of the Jesuits.

This Session being over, the *Spanish* Ambassador moved, that those who were separated from the Catholic Church, should be again invited to the Council; but as this measure must have occasioned a great delay in affairs, which had already been much protracted, it was set aside; and regulations prepared for the Decree against clandestine Marriages. The Committees for this purpose were held in Cardinal *Moron's*, the chief Legate's palace; but the Fathers coming to no



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resolution, the meeting in which this point was to have been decided, and which was fixed on the 16th of *September*, was adjourned to the 11th of *November*; which vacation the Cardinal of *Lorraine* made use of to go to *Rome*, in order to confer with the Pope.

The *French* King at the same time sent a peremptory order to his Ambassadors, to enter their Protest against a Decree for the reformation of Sovereigns, which was reported to be in readiness; and, in case any such step was taken, to withdraw to *Venice*. *Du Ferrier*, one of the Ambassadors, spoke on this head with great vehemence, in full Council; and having been answered, with equal vivacity, by the Bishop of *Montefiascone*, he replied by a discourse of passion and resentment, rather than of proof and argument, which he published with what he calls his *Apology*, and then retired to *Venice*. The object of this projected Reformation was to withdraw the Clergy, both as to their persons and effects, those which they held by inheritance not excepted, from the Temporal Power, and substitute the Pope and Bishops in the place of Kings and Magistrates. It was very natural that the interested Powers should absolutely reject a regulation, no less repugnant to the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, than to the authority of the civil Magistrate, and to public order and tranquillity.

But whatever might have been the design of particular persons, nothing can set forth the general sense of the Council with respect to this imputation in a clearer light, than the short and pathetic exhortation addressed to Sovereigns in the last Session, which I shall here transcribe. "The Fathers have nothing so much at heart, as the re-establishment of Church Discipline among



among all Orders of Christians; and that it be not only inviolably observed at present, but secured against all future attempts to weaken it. On this account, besides the regulations which concern the Clergy, they deem it incumbent on them to admonish Temporal Princes of their duty, and have a confidence that, in quality of Catholics, and Protectors of the holy Faith, they will not only readily concur in support of the Rights of the Church, but will likewise prevail on their Subjects to pay to Churchmen in general, to Parish Priests, and to the higher Orders of Ecclesiastics, a suitable respect; and not only secure those immunities, which are established by the order of God and canonical Institutions, from being infringed, but inforce the deference of their Dependents by their own example. The holy Council therefore declares to them, that they are to look on themselves as under an obligation of observing the Canons, the Decrees of all General Councils, and other Apostolical Ordinances, made in favour of Ecclesiastical persons, and the liberties of the Church, and against those who injure them: and moreover, reminds Emperors, Kings, Commonwealths, Princes, and all persons of whatever dignity, that their obligation on these heads is greater, in proportion to the advantages of temporal blessings and extent of power they enjoy above others; and that this preeminence ought to give them a holy veneration for what appertains more immediately to the service of God, as being under their peculiar protection. That the piety and religion of the Princes their Predecessors, is proposed to their imitation; who, not contented to protect the Church against all hostile attempts, had, by their authority and munificence, greatly contributed to the advantages she



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enjoyed. In conclusion, the Fathers intreat each of them to fill up the measure of his duty, that God may be worshipped in holiness, and without unnecessary avocation; and Bishops and other Ecclesiastics enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity in the places of their Residence, and apply themselves, in their several functions, to the edification of the people, and their own advancement in Virtue."

The Decree concerning Marriage was published in the next Session, on the 11th of *November*; and declares this engagement of no effect, if the banns are not thrice published; unless the Ordinary dispenses with the publication; and if it be not ratified by the Parish Priest, in the presence of two or three witnesses. The Council likewise condemns those who assert Matrimony to be void, unless it be contracted with the consent of Parents; and that these can either annul or make it valid. The impediments to Marriage, which arise from spiritual affinity, public decency, and fornication, are treated of: and those who knowingly shall contract marriage within the prohibited degrees, are to be separated without hope of a more favourable treatment; and that a dispensation within the second degree of consanguinity is not to be granted, unless in favour of Princes, or some public utility. The Council declares there can be no marriage between the Ravisher and the person forcibly taken away, so long as she continues in his power; and prescribes the cautions to be observed in the marriages of Vagabonds, and such as have no home: and pronounces Excommunication against those who live in concubinage, unless they separate after the third admonition of their Ordinary; and against all who put an obstruction to the freedom of marriage. It renews the ancient pro-



prohibition of solemnising marriage from *Advent* till after *Twelfth-day*, and from *Ash-Wednesday* till after *Low-Sunday*. --- This Decree, which is

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particularised through ten chapters, is introduced by a short Preface, which sums up the doctrine of this Sacrament; and by twelve Canons, or Rules of Faith: of which the fifth, sixth, and twelfth, are most observable. They pronounce a curse on those who affirm that the bond of marriage can be dissolved on account of Heresy; or that this contract is not annulled by a solemn engagement in a Religious state, made by either of the parties before the consummation of the marriage; or, lastly, that the causes relative to Matrimony, do not belong to the Ecclesiastical Court.

The Decree concerning Reformation, which passed in this Session, contains twenty one chapters: eleven of which are employed on what regards the choice of Cardinals and Bishops; on the duties of their station, and the privileges annexed to it. It observes the obligation the Pope lies under of supplying the sacred College with Members worthy such a Senate, and from all Nations of Christendom. It appoints Provincial Councils to be held every three years; and Diocesan, every year; and limits Episcopal Visitation to the same term: and no appeal, even to the holy See, no privilege or exemption whatever, is to hinder or suspend the execution of what is enacted for the reformation of manners in these judicial meetings. Bishops are enjoined to appoint Penitentiaries in their Cathedrals; and to impose public penitence for public crimes, unless in cases when this practice would be less expedient. The cognisance of all criminal causes brought against Bishops, especially that of Heresy, is reserved to the Pope; and elsewhere, in the same Decree,



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Decree, they are authorised to absolve others from that crime, but not to delegate their power to their Grand Vicars. The Council directs, that no person under the age of five and twenty be promoted to any preferment, to which the care of souls is annexed; or to any other spiritual dignity, if he be two years short of that term: That Archdeacons shall be Doctors, or Bachelors of Divinity, or Licentiates in the Canon Law. The Fathers would have the moiety, at least, of the Prebends in Cathedral, and the more considerable Collegiate Churches conferred on them. They abolish also the Entrance fees, which were paid on these occasions. Chapters are commanded to meet on the vacancy of a See, and appoint a grand Vicar within eighteen days after the decease of the Bishop: and no one is to hold two benefices, unless one of them be not sufficient for a decent maintenance; in which case he is allowed to hold a simple one with it. As to those who hold several Parish Churches, or a Cathedral with a Parochial Church, they are to be constrained, within six months, to relinquish all but one. And as the spiritual welfare of Christians depends, in great measure, on the qualities of those under whose more immediate care and direction they are, the Council treats at large of the choice and examination of Parish Priests; and, among other regulations, appoints, that within ten days after the vacancy of a Parsonage, the Bishop and person who has the right of presentation, shall name several Ecclesiastics to be examined by the former, and three others appointed by him; and the Parsonage to be conferred on him who shall be judged best qualified. There are in the Decree other provisions against abuses in the Collation to Benefices.

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The length to which the Council had been protracted, began to make the Fathers desire to bring it to a conclusion; for which they assign this reason in the following Session, which was the last: "That such a number of Bishops from so many different Provinces of Christendom could not absent themselves any longer from their respective Churches, without a considerable detriment to the People committed to their charge." In this Session, which was held on the 3d of *December*, and was the 25th since the first Sitting, two Decrees were published concerning Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the respect due to their Relics and Images. And because the Church of *Rome* has on no account been more slandered, nor her Doctrine more misrepresented, than in the above-mentioned particulars, I shall here set down what was defined concerning them, as it contains the whole Belief and Practice of the Catholic Church, with respect to each of these Articles. The Decree on Purgatory being short, I shall present my Reader with a Translation of the whole.

"The Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has always taught in preceding Councils, and lately in the General one which is now sitting, according to the holy Scriptures, and the doctrine of all Antiquity, that there is a Purgatory; and that the Souls there detained are assisted by the prayers of the Faithful, and chiefly by the sacrifice of the Altar, so worthy of God's gracious acceptance. The holy Council therefore commands Bishops to be particularly watchful, that the belief of the Faithful concerning this Tenet, be conformable to the sound doctrine which has been transmitted to us by the holy Fathers and Councils; and to see it be preached to



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to them in this manner. To take care, that, in public Discourses to a gross and ignorant multitude, all difficult and subtil discussions of this subject be avoided, which neither instruct nor edify. Nor are they to permit any thing that is uncertain, or has the appearance of falshood, to be advanced on this head; and to proscribe whatever favours of curiosity or superstition, or causes disedification and scandal, as owing its origin to unbecoming and sordid lucre. They are likewise to be watchful that the Offerings of the Faithful, as Masses, Prayers, Alms, and other Works of Piety, which are wont to be performed for the repose of the Departed, be discharged with devotion; and that the relief which is due to Souls in a separate state, be discharged, not in a halty and negligent manner, but with care and accuracy, by Priests who serve the Church, or others who are obliged to it."

The other Decree concerning the Invocation of Saints, is drawn up as fully, and with a discernment and dignity equal to any thing in the whole Council. It enters on the subject, "by commanding Bishops, and all who are charged with the instruction of the People, to inform them particularly of what concerns the Intercession made to Saints, the honour paid to their Relics, and the approved use of Images; as these practices are observed by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the earliest times of Christianity, and conformable to the unanimous consent of the holy Fathers and Decrees of Councils. They are to teach that the Saints, who reign with CHRIST, offer up to GOD their prayers for men: That it is lawful and salutary to have recourse to their intercession and aid, and to pray to them, in order to obtain  
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grace and favour of GOD, through his Son JESUS CHRIST, our Lord, and only Redeemer and Mediator: and that those who deny the lawfulness of this practice, or maintain that the Saints do not pray for us, or that it is idolatrous to desire their prayers for each one in particular; or that it is repugnant to the word of GOD, and to the honour due to JESUS CHRIST, the only Redeemer, and Mediator between GOD and man; or that such usage is folly; have sentiments contrary to true Piety. The Faithful in like manner are to bear respect to the holy bodies of the Martyrs and other Saints, who enjoy eternal life with JESUS CHRIST; these bodies having formerly been his living members, and the Temple of the Holy Ghost, and are hereafter to be resuscitated to life eternal; and GOD himself often conferring great benefits through their means. Infomuch, as those who affirm neither honour nor veneration to be due to the Relics of Saints; and that it is to no purpose for the Faithful to pay a respect to them, and other sacred memorials; or to visit places consecrated to their memory, in order to obtain their assistance, are absolutely to be condemned, as the holy Church formerly has, and now again passes sentence on them. The Images likewise of JESUS CHRIST, of the Virgin-Mother of GOD, and the other Saints, are to be retained, particularly in Churches; and a due respect is to be paid to them. Not that we believe the Divinity, or any power to reside in them, on account of which this reverence is paid; or that any thing is to be asked of, or any confidence placed in them, as the Pagans put their trust in Idols: but because the honour paid to them, is referred to the Originals which they represent. Thus in the Images we kiss, before which we uncover our heads, and prostrate



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prostrate ourselves, we adore JESUS CHRIST, and pay our respects to his Saints, whose resemblance they bear; as this doctrine has been already defined, particularly in the second Council of *Nice*, against those who oppugned it. The People are moreover to be taught, that the Mysteries of our Redemption thus represented, are designed to render the Articles of our Belief familiar to them; and that they not only renew the remembrance of benefits received, and of the wonderful things which God has operated in his Saints, and the wholesome examples they have left us; but awaken our gratitude, and animate us to an imitation of their behaviour, to adore and love the supreme Being, and lead a life of piety: and those who advance any doctrine contrary to these Decrees, or dissent from them, are anathematized."

If any abuse has crept into such holy and salutary observances, the Council ardently desires it should be abolished; that no Images be exposed which can give occasion to error, or become a snare to the ignorant: and where the representations are taken from Scripture, the illiterate Vulgar, for whose aid they are chiefly designed, are to be carefully informed, that the divine Being is above all resemblance, and not to be expressed by colours, or outward form. In the Invocation of Saints, the Veneration of Relics, and the due use of Images, all manner of superstition, all sordid and illiberal gain, and whatever is inconsistent with decency, is to be shunned. After these general injunctions, the Council enters into a detail of several practices, which it ranks under these heads; and prescribes the caution to be observed in the examination of Miracles, in abolishing either customs, whose lawfulness is equivocal, or inveterate evils;



evils; and deciding important questions on these matters.

There were likewise two Decrees concerning Manners, published at the same time; one of which regards Religious persons of both Sexes; the other, a general Reformation. The first is divided into two and twenty chapters; by the third of which all Monasteries, even of the mendicant Orders, and those who otherwise were prohibited by their Constitutions, are allowed for the future to have immoveable goods. An exception was made at the earnest request of some branches of Saint *Francis's* Institute; and *Laines*, who had succeeded to the government of the *Jesuits*, though at first he made the same petition for the professed houses of his Society, yet he afterwards desisted from it. By the fifth chapter, an exact Inclosure is enjoined to all Religious women; and the ninth and tenth contain the Regulations of Convents, immediately subject to the holy See, which are to be governed by the Bishops of the place, as Delegates of that See: and Religious women are to be admonished, by their institutions, to confess themselves, and receive the holy Eucharist at least once a month. The eleventh subjects such as exercise in Convents the functions of Parish Priests, to the authority of the Ordinary. The fifteenth prohibits any person to take religious Vows before they are full sixteen years old, and have passed one year in a probationary state. A curse is pronounced against whoever constrains any one to enter on a Religious state, or hinders them from so doing: and Religious persons, who have any cause to object to the validity of their engagement, are allowed to do it within five years after their entrance; but these elapsed, they are no more to be heard. As these Articles which concern Religious persons,



sons, take in a considerable part of the Hierarchy, and the beauty of the whole Church depends so much on their regularity, the Committees and general Conventions which prepared the heads, took every precaution to include in them whatever could answer that purpose; as must appear to all judicious persons, who read them with attention.

After this Decree which regarded the Monastic profession, the Fathers immediately proceeded to the duties of the Episcopal Order; and the directions given on this Article, are not inferior to any part of the Council: which then goes on to the charge of Heads of Universities and Colleges, and of those who have the care of others; and, having here an opening to explain itself on the subject of Excommunication, it begins with the following caution: "That though this punishment be the nerve of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and very expedient to contain the People within the bounds of duty, yet it was to be used with great sobriety and moderation; since it had been found by experience, that a too frequent use, and on slight occasions, caused it rather to be despised than feared, and produced greater Evil than Good." The following part of the Articles enters on the causes which justify the inflicting this punishment, and prescribes several regulations concerning it. The Fathers had several other matters to determine; but, night coming on, they adjourned to the next day, when they published five other Decrees, with which they put an end to the Session, and closed the Council.

The first of these Articles concerns a practice of such consequence, and which has been the object of so much obloquy, as to deserve to be transcribed from the words of the Council.

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“The power of granting Indulgences having been conferred by JESUS CHRIST on his Church, she has made use of it from the earliest times, as derived from God. The holy Council therefore ordains, that it be retained as very salutary, and approved by the authority of former Synods; and pronounces an Anathema on those who say, that Indulgences are unlawful, or deny the Church’s power to grant them. It requires nevertheless, that, according to the ancient approved custom, they should be granted with reserve and moderation, lest a too great facility in this point weaken Ecclesiastical Discipline. But as to abuses which have been introduced, and given occasion to Heretics to traduce this favourable appellation, the Council is extremely desirous they should be reformed, and commands whatever has the appearance of illicit gain, in the distribution of them, to be abolished, as having been productive of great disorders. And as for other disorders, which have their rise either in superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or any such like source; and of which, on account of their number and variety in different places, it would be hard to enter on a detail, all Bishops are required to look into these particulars, in their respective Dioceses, in order to lay them before the first Provincial Synod; and, being found unlawful by the consent of the other Bishops, the relation may be sent to the Pope, who, by his authority and prudence, may regulate the whole, as shall be most expedient; and the Treasure of Indulgences be dispensed to the Faithful with piety and holiness, and without any just cause of complaint.” This is the whole definition of the Catholic Church concerning this Article; though the generality of those who are separated from her Communion, and take their notions from



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such as are unacquainted with her doctrine, or choose to misrepresent it, think the very reverse of what is here set down.

The second of the five mentioned Decrees prescribes the observance of Fasts and Festivals, and assigns the reasons of each. The third remits to the Pope's care the Catalogue of prohibited Works, and the Correction of the books which contain the Church service, the Missal and Breviary; that, having been revised by his orders, they may come out by his authority. It assigns to him also the publishing the Catechism; and commands the memorials of these several heads, which had been drawn up by Committees appointed for each purpose, to be put into his Holiness's hands. The ignorance in which both the Clergy and Laity were plunged, particularly since the Council of *Basil*, and in *Germany* deeper than elsewhere, had facilitated the way to innovations in Religion. The Fathers therefore, who saw the extent of the evil, had ordered an Instruction to be drawn up for the Parochial Clergy, in form of a Catechism, which can never be sufficiently commended, nor studied too much.

The fourth Decree, which orders the acceptance of the Council, and the execution of its Decrees, was composed by the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Madrucci*; who, to obviate all objections, weighed the terms with a very exact scrutiny.--- This Decree was followed by a fresh reading of those that had been made under *Paul* and *Julius III.* after which, the fifth and last Decree was published for putting an end to this celebrated Assembly, which was opened at *Trent* in the year 1545, and by several prorogations continued through eighteen years, till the year 1563. It ended with such universal satisfaction on the part



part of the Bishops, that the greater number testified their joy by their tears. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to avoid confusion, composed the order of Acclamations, which were to be made at the close; and, having pronounced them with an audible voice, the Fathers joined in testifying their assent, and confirming the good wishes he had made.--- It appears from the Acts of the Council, that it is accounted the Twentieth of the General. It was subscribed to by two hundred and fifty five Fathers, including Bishops, Abbots, and Heads of Religious Orders; namely, four Legates, two Cardinals, three Patriarchs, twenty five Archbishops, one hundred and sixty eight Bishops, seven Abbots, thirty nine Proxies, and seven Heads of Religious Orders. In the subscription, to the words *I have subscribed*, all the Fathers added, *as Definer*, except the Proxies, who had never been allowed the right of voting. Two days after, all the Ambassadors who were at *Trent*, except the Count *de Luna*, received the Decrees, and signed them separately from the subscription of the Fathers. The ratification of the Acts having been petitioned with the usual formalities, in the name of the whole Council, the Pope confirmed them on the 26th of *January*, 1564, and reserves to himself the decision of any difficulty which may arise on the subject. The Fathers had likewise paid the same deference to the holy See in their last Decree. The Ordinances of the Council were to take place on the 1st of the following *May*; and a Committee of eight Cardinals was established to bring them into practice.

The Council of *Trent* was received without any restriction by the Kingdom of *Portugal*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. The *Spaniards*, the *Flemings*, *Neapolitans*, and *Sicilians*,



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caused it to be published with a caution as to any part of its Discipline, which might be derogatory to the claims of their respective Sovereignities; but without any particular restriction: and Cardinal Commendon obtained of the King of *Poland*, to receive it in full Senate, and in their presence who had renounced the Communion of the Church. The Emperor moved a difficulty in admitting it, by persisting to demand the use of the Cup, and the marriage of the Priesthood; the first of which was allowed under certain limitations, and where there should be sufficient cause. It was never published in *France*, because some of its Regulations are not conformable to the customs of that Kingdom, and to what are termed Privileges of the *Gallican Church*. But the *Doctrine* is universally submitted to; and the Church of *France* has unanimously acknowledged in it the ancient and unvaried Faith of the Catholic Church. In the following year, 1565, several Provincial Councils were assembled in different States, for the publication of its Decrees: the most celebrated of which is that held at *Milan*, by Cardinal *Charles Borromeo*, Archbishop of that City; who, though then very young, drew on himself the admiration of all *Europe*, by his zeal, his eloquence, and the majesty with which he presided at this Assembly, of which he was the Soul.

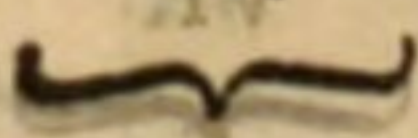
If the Author had not grounds to think that the foregoing account of the Council of *Trent*, would have at least the recommendation of novelty with the generality of his Readers, some part of it might have been contracted into a narrower compass: and it may be deemed needless, after such a detail, to add Reflection to matter of Fact. CARDINAL POLE having presided at several Sessions of this great Assembly, the subject



ject of this History is immediately interested in those transactions in which he had a share; and the intimate connection which the Continuation and Close of the Council had with the Opening, made the relation of the latter necessary, in a Work where the former could not have been omitted. As to any observations which arise from the subject, it would really be superfluous to point them out, were the several Articles and Decrees read with attention, and impartially weighed; because these furnish so many and so useful, that a Writer must be vain indeed, who thinks to suggest any thing which can either raise a higher idea of Wisdom than appears through every part of it, or enforce its truth and moral with greater energy than the Text itself.

The first Council, held at *Jerusalem* by the Apostles, is the plan on which the Catholic Church has ever proceeded in her general Conventions, on questions of Faith and Discipline. The following incident gave occasion to it. There had been a considerable disagreement among the Faithful concerning the obligation of the Mosaical Observances; on which a deputation was sent to *Jerusalem*, where the preaching of the Gospel began, and where *St Peter*, the Prince and Chief of the Apostolic College, then was. On this, as many of the Apostles and Priests, as the circumstances of the times would admit, met and discussed the question at leisure, and with great exactness. *St Peter* presides at the meeting; he opens it by proposing the matter in debate, and saying, *They were informed that God, from ancient times, had made choice of him to declare the Gospel to the heathen world, and bring them over to it.* But though he is the first who delivers his judgment, he is not the sole Judge. *St James*, who was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, judges also,



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also, and expresses himself in that authoritative Character. When those who chose to give their opinion had spoken, the question is decided; and the decision grounded on the holy Scriptures, and drawn up by the common consent of all present. It is then committed to writing, not as a human determination, but an Oracle; and those, in whose name it is sent, say, at the head of the Definition, with all assurance, *It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to Us*. The decision thus made, is sent to particular Churches, not to be examined, but received and executed with an entire submission.-- The World has never seen a more illustrious Copy of this venerable Original, than that of which I have given the abridgment, as will appear to every comparer of its proceedings with what is related in the *Acts* of the Apostles.

The Council receives no less authority from the persons who composed it, who were as knowing and learned as ever met on such or any other occasion. This appears from their characters, transmitted to us by those who were personally acquainted with them, and were themselves very great men; and by the Writings by which several of that Assembly have recommended their own fame to posterity. Agreeably to these advantages, and to the occasions of those unhappy times, they entered on a greater detail, both of the tenets which were to be ascertained, the errors to be condemned, and the points of discipline reformed, than had ever yet enlightened any period of the Christian era. The bare defence of truth was by no means the sole end of these Regulations; and no Work, next to *the Supreme of Books, and Sublime of all Writings* †, gives so noble and accurate an idea of the doctrine and morality

† Mr Pope, of the Holy Scriptures.



morality of the Gospel; such proofs of the one, and such encouragement to live up to the other; and is so proper to remove the prejudices under which the Catholic cause labours, with those who are separated from her communion; by letting them see what her Faith and Practice prescribe, and on what foundation they both rest: and, therefore, no reading can be more salutary to persons of all ranks.

The Members of her own communion will, above all others, find motives of acquiescence in the guidance of a Church, which they perceive to be still the same, amidst all those changes which surround and pass before her: That her unerring light is at once clear, unchanged, and universal; and has in every age imparted the rule of Belief and Action to all who have any claim to a succession from the Apostles; and been the source and test of every rightful tenet: That, like the Soul, which feeds the whole frame with spirits, supplies it with vigour, directs each motion, and sustains every nerve, this divine Direction has provided not only Nations and Provinces, but Individuals, with spiritual supplies suited to all their necessities \*.

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\* *CHRISTI verò Ecclesia sedula et cauta depositorum apud se Dogmatum custos, nihil in iis unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit. Non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua: non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena; sed omni industriâ hoc unum studet, ut vetera fideliter sapienterque tractando, si quæ sunt illa antiquitus informata et inchoata, accuret et poliat; si quæ jam expressa et enucleata, consolidet, firmet; si quæ jam confirmata et definita, custodiat. Denique quid unquam aliud Conciliorum Decretis enixa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur; quod antea lentius prædicabatur, hoc idem postea instantius prædicaretur; quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea sollicitius excoleretur? Hoc, inquam, semper, neque quicquam præterea, Hæreticorum novitatibus ex-*

*citata,*



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is such, says the Council, and the perverseness of those who are fallen from the Church so obstinate, that there was nothing so clearly proved, or so firmly established, which they have not vitiated." This engaged the Fathers to apply themselves, in a particular manner, to disprove and reject the errors which then obtained, and to elucidate those truths, by which they are principally contrasted: in all which they have added nothing to the Doctrine of Antiquity, but placed in an advantageous light what the Innovators endeavoured to obscure. They were led to this method by the invariable practice of past ages, which had never failed to decide according to what an uniform tradition had delivered down to them: for, whatever truth is called in question, and at whatever distance of time, the disputants always find the Church in the same situation, and equally ready to oppose to them the same Decrees, which the holy See and the Unanimity of the Faithful have formerly pronounced, without adding any thing but what was necessary to confute new errors, which have risen up against Truths as ancient as Christianity. Thus this General Council, like all the preceding, has been an illustrious evidence that the Christian Faith, which has the Source of Truth for its Author, partakes of the Unity of its divine Origin, which cannot be divided, and that any discord would be the destruction of the whole.

Though

*citata, Conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit Ecclesia, nisi ut, quod prius à Majoribus solâ traditione susceperat, hoc deinde Posteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum consignaret: magnam rerum summam paucis litteris comprehendendo; et plerumque propter intelligentiæ lucem, non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis proprietate signando. Vicentii Lirinensis, adversus Hæreses, Commonitorii cap. xxxii.—*  
The Author lived in the fifth Century.

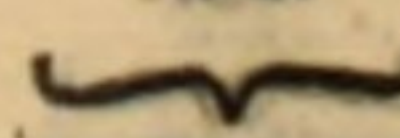


Though a supernatural assistance was assured to this supreme Tribunal, every rational investigation by which Error is detected, and its contrary Truth enforced, was made use of in the Committees and general Conventions which prepared the matter for the Sessions, and in the method observed in these last decisive meetings. Hence the Decisions are not less clear and precise, than absolute and peremptory; the Council having constantly taken care to remove whatever might give the mind a pretext to go astray, as has been seen in the Articles of the Invocation of Saints, of Purgatory, and of the respect due to holy Images; and the same might be exemplified in other instances. A completeness, therefore, such as leaves nothing to be desired, is as remarkable in these Decrees, as their agreement with each other, and with the belief of all Antiquity. These advantages become more extensive, as the high Court of Judicature that enjoys them, not being at a loss to find her doctrine, explains herself without difficulty or circumlocution; and, for this reason, neither loads nor perplexes her decisions with unnecessary words. As she contemplates the most sublime Mysteries without being lost in their blaze, she proposes them without ambiguity, being assured to find in those, to whom she speaks, a readiness "to captivate their understanding to the obedience of Faith," and a strength of mind capable of supporting the weight of the divine Secret.

The Adversaries indeed of the Church of *Rome* have objected to her, after *Fra. Paolo*, that the Council of *Trent* has generally delivered itself in obscure and equivocal terms. But this objection could never have been made, but with a view to misrepresent this Assembly to those who were never



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tention to what is there contained, even in the

 sketch here given, will evince this charge to be  
no less destitute of foundation, than the sneer of  
an impious Scoffer, the disgrace of his age and  
country, who calls the whole *a solemn banter*.

The late Lord B. But, as a celebrated *French* Critic observes, the  
Dacier, on the noblest subjects are most liable to burlesque, by  
the third book of perverting their meaning; as some pictures, by  
the *Odyf-* varying the position, represent either a Man or  
*sey.* a Monster.

Should any doubt concerning this perspicuity  
yet remain, as to any decided point; every in-  
telligent and equitable Reader will reflect, that  
Almighty God, who best knows to what a de-  
gree of knowledge it is fitting man's understand-  
ing should attain, by the Truths he is pleased to  
reveal, leaves us often in the dark with respect  
to several circumstances which accompany these  
truths, and to the manner of explaining them;  
and this creates a necessity of using only general  
expressions on such occasions, in order to re-  
main within the moderation recommended by St  
*Paul*, and not, contrary to the rule he has lain  
down, *Be more wise than it behoves us to be; but  
to be wise with sobriety*. But though the terms  
employed in such cases are general, they are not  
vague; and neither cause an ambiguous or equi-  
vocal sense, though they may not convey evi-  
dence to the last precision. That good faith, in  
pronouncing only on what was certain, and not  
wrapping up any doubtful tenet in the decision,  
so worthy the authority of the Representative of  
the Catholic Church, was observed through all  
the Sessions. I shall content myself with giving  
the following instance. The form of a Decree  
had been drawn up, from whence the Pope's su-  
periority to a General Council might be inferred.

This



This was opposed by the *French* Bishops, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* at their head; and *Pallavini* relates, that the Pope being consulted, made answer, that nothing should be defined, but by the unanimous consent of the Fathers; and the Decree was accordingly suppressed.

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To this moderation in defining only what was to constitute the Catholic Doctrine, we are to join the pathetic Addresses to those who had forsaken it; and the gravity of the Admonitions which introduce, by way of Preface, some of the Sessions, and are intermixed with the precepts which regard Discipline; because they manifest the Fathers universal disposition to acquit themselves of every part of their charge; and must be felt by all who do not read with a lust to misapply. The same dignity and precision which distinguish the matter, and affect the sentiment and expression, have caused such a variety of subject to be comprised in one small volume, and placed the Council of *Trent* on a level, at least, with the most celebrated and accurate compositions; and made each part to be enounced with remarkable life and spirit. This accuracy is recommended by an exemption from all repetition; by a method which is every where regular; a matter, connected; a diction, clear, concise and nervous; and an arrangement and harmony of parts, which gives perspicuity and strength even to the minutest precepts and definitions, and an additional advantage to what precedes and follows in its proper place; and makes the whole worthy the majesty of such a Legislature, and a Cause the most sacred and important to which the mind of man can be admitted. I may add, without departing from the notion of that serious and Christian Sublime, which is affixed to such an Assembly, that though nothing can be more polite or



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or dispassionate than the manner in which all the Decrees, and whatever has any relation to them, is penned; yet this is done with a noble simplicity, without any affectation of the ornaments of speech; and the whole attention is visibly taken up in instructing, not in gaining applause. The Assessors of this Tribunal every where discover that generous disdain and abhorrence of capital Error and Vice, which they could not have dissembled without departing from their character; but they do it with a due regard to the weakness of mankind; and endeavour more to reform, than chastise; though, in their place, one could not always be effected without the other. The form in which the Acts of the Bishops of Rome are drawn up; which, from the *Bulla*, or Great Seal, are called *Bulls*, like that of the Acts of other Sovereigns, is for the most part neither very engaging nor entertaining, yet those prefixed to the several parts of the Council are not liable to this objection.

Wisdom,  
chap. i.

The frequent interruptions, and the length of time through which the Council was protracted, must have occasioned an almost total succession of the Members, who, at different times, composed it; yet an uniformity of stile and sentiment appears through the Decrees of all the Sessions, no less than if they had been enacted and written by the same Convention, or even by the same person. So much did *that Spirit, which fills, connects, and bounds the Universe, and has, by way of excellence, the gift of Elocution*, prevail over all human obstacles; and stamp the Image of Himself, Unity, Truth and Sanctity, on a body of Laws; to which, on account of the effects they produced in the Christian world, we may apply the words of the Prophet, *Almighty God has sent forth his Spirit, and wrought*  
a se-



*a second creation, by renewing the face of the earth.* SECT.  
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I should however be wanting to that candor, from which no consideration can dispense a Writer, was I to dissemble that some of the Deliberations were accompanied with those intrigues and passions, which are the attendants at the boards of other Councils. The history of mankind has ever informed us, that where there are men, there will be weaknesses inseparable from humanity. The meetings of the best and greatest Personages in the happiest ages, have not always been exempted from them: they found entrance into that Synod, which the SON of GOD had formed by his own instruction and example. But though several of these effects were visible in various incidents of the Council, they were succeeded by unanimity in all doctrinal points, and whatever concerned a reformation of manners; and are an illustrious evidence, that the business there carried on was conducted by a superior Order, to whose accomplishment those very measures concur, which seem calculated to weaken or subvert it.

As the beginning of the Century in which the Council was convened, was one of the unhappy epochs of Christianity, the visible change of manners, which was the consequence of it, let all *Europe* see an attention of Providence over the Catholic Church, equal to what any other period of that Establishment had ever experienced: and though the destroying Angel was permitted to give her a dreadful assault, he was not suffered to prevail against her. I must be allowed to exemplify this assertion from what happened in our own Country, where, amidst Defection and Confusion, our Catholic Ancestors, through the temper of their Rulers, who were strangers to the equity



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equity and moderation of the times, in which we, their Posterity, have the happiness to live, saw the exercise of those heroic virtues necessary, which graced the early days of Christianity: and this National Church, which had few Martyrs in its infancy, had the glory to have many when she was on the point of expiring. A Work, esteemed for its accuracy, and which ends with the year 1588, that is, before the heat of *Elizabeth's* persecutions, enumerates above 1200 persons, who suffered for their Religion, either in their lives or fortunes, and puts down their names; amongst whom are eighteen Peers of the Realm, above four hundred Lay persons of distinction, of both sexes, and five hundred and thirty Priests. The treason which has been imputed to some of them, is sufficiently refuted by their protestation at the Scaffold, of their inviolable fidelity to the Queen, whom they acknowledged for their rightful Sovereign, and prayed for her, by whose orders they were executed †.--- All Kingdoms and States in Communion with the See of *Rome*, each Province almost in these different Sovereignties, were witnesses of the surprising change which the Regulations of the Council wrought; and that of the Clergy in particular was regular and edifying, in proportion as the Bishops were careful to introduce the practice of them. The Seminaries, and other Establishments, either erected or reformed by the plan there laid down, greatly contributed to these desirable purposes; and several Provincial Councils recalled in some part, at least, the ancient Discipline, and either stopped the growth of Error, or prevented its birth. The Monasteries of *St Theresa*, in the midst of populous

† *Concertatio Fidei Catholicæ in Angliâ, Augustæ Trevirorum, excudebat Henricus Bock, anno 1588, cum gratiâ et privilegio.* It is a large quarto.



lous Cities, set an example of abstraction and retirement from the World, which may vie with the Deserts of *Thebais*, inhabited by the *Anchorites*.

*America* was enlightened by the labours and miracles of *St Lewis Bertrand*; and *St Francis Xavier* shewed the spirit and wonders of an Apostle in the *East Indies*. The See of *Rome* saw Successors worthy the Prince of the Apostles: *Adrian V.* *Marcellus II.* and *Gregory XIII.* may be ranked with the best of Popes; as *Sixtus V.* among the greatest.

I shall conclude what I had to say on the Council of *Trent*, and its immediate consequences, by a testimony, which, I presume, will be above all exception, as coming from one whom the *English* suppose very well acquainted with the merits of the cause; who, nobody imagines to be prejudiced in favour of it, and every body acknowledges, where he is not biased by prejudice, to be a very polite and judicious Writer. "As to what regards Discipline, says this Author, it is certain that several excellent regulations were made, according to the ancient spirit of the Church; and a remedy applied to several pernicious abuses, which prevailed before with impunity." And a little below, "All these disorders, says he, have not been reformed by the Council; but if we set aside prejudice, we may with truth acknowledge, they are infinitely less than they were before \*."

\* *Courayer*, Pref. à l'Hist. du Conc. de *Trente*.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



VI. The following is an example of abstraction and its effect on the meaning of the word "man".

The first of these is the fact that the  
 British Empire is now a reality, and  
 that the British people are now  
 a part of the world. The second  
 is the fact that the British Empire  
 is now a reality, and that the British  
 people are now a part of the world.



















Phillips, Thomas

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